Sustainable heritage tourism: Towards a community-led approach

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PhD

I, Mina Dragouni confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This doctoral thesis explores community participation in heritage tourism planning as a sustainable solution to real-world cultural heritage problems, such as neglect and degradation at economically-deprived areas. In particular, the study examines how the strategic design of heritage tourism can accommodate the active involvement of destination hosts, such as local residents and business owners, and their meaningful collaboration with heritage managers and policymakers. The literature suggests that destination communities are heavily affected by tourism activity and their contribution to tourism planning is vital for achieving commitment to sustainability goals. Although the theoretical grounds of community involvement are well set, heritage tourism management has been slow in applying participatory approaches. Consequently, there is little empirical work on the practical implications of realising a more pluralist governance for heritage tourism and limited evidence to convince current 'power-holders' such as state officials to share their power with non-expert stakeholders. This project aspires to fill this void by exploring the process and particularities of instigating community participation at destination level in areas with no previous participatory experience. By adopting the case-study approach, it explores Kastoria, a peripheral emerging destination in Greece, conducting for the first time an *ex-ante* assessment of the challenges and complexities involved in pursuing community involvement on Arnstein's (1969) rungs of 'citizen power'. Following a novel mixed methodological approach, the study generates primary fieldwork data through semi-structured interviews, an attitudinal questionnaire survey and a quasi-field economic experiment applied to the tourism field for the first time. By doing so it provides important empirical evidence and draws useful theoretical and practical conclusions that increase our knowledge of community-inclusive planning in critical issues, such as the drivers of participation and the dynamics of collaborative decision-making.

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CHAPTER 1
Introduction

1.1 Setting the problem

Heritage tourism is increasingly proposed as an economic solution for declining rural economies, promising to compensate for lost manufacturing activities and granting 'uniqueness' in a crowded marketplace (Bessiere, 2013; Liwieratos, 2004). As a term, heritage tourism describes a type of special-interest tourism, in which the heritage destination plays a central role in shaping travellers' motivations and experiences (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). These may relate to visiting cultural sites and monuments or to more generally engaging in history, folklore and traditions inherited from the past (Timothy & Boyd, 2006). In spite of their synergistic potential, heritage and tourism are often portrayed as a dipole of conflict and uncompromising values, resulting in negative socio-cultural impacts, such as degradation of historic sites, undesirable cultural transformations, excessive commodification and a trade-off between conservation principles and economic profits (Aas et al., 2005; Austin, 2002; McLean & Straede, 2003; Nyaupane et al., 2006). Thus, previous failures in the heritage and tourism symbiosis made sustainability considerations particularly relevant to the field (Huang et al., 2012; Su & Wall, 2014; Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009). In line with its parental sustainable development paradigm, sustainable heritage tourism is proposed as an ideal mode of tourism activity that balances heritage protection and carrying capacity with community needs in an economic, social and cultural equilibrium (Smith, 2009).

In assessing the relevant literature on the subject, one sees growing agreement that the planning of sustainable heritage tourism needs to take place collaboratively with communities (see *inter alia* Byrd et al., 2009; Cohen-Hatttab, 2013; Dodds, 2007; Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Jamal & McDonald, 2011; Li & Hunter, 2015; McCool, 2009; Nunkoo & Ramkinssoon, 2012; Reggers et al., 2016; Salazar, 2012; Waligo et al., 2013). These are defined as communities-of-place or interest-driven collectives such as destination residents, voluntary associations and business owners (Atalay, 2010; Selman, 2004). As it is held by previous work, the participation of these stakeholders in the development of heritage tourism

is vital to achieve equitability, reconcile divergent interests, devise legitimate policies and maintain long-term commitment (Ap, 1992; Chirikure et al., 2010; Pacifico & Vogel, 2012; Reid, 2003). Therefore, community participation is a fundamental principle of sustainable heritage tourism.

Despite theoretical consensus over community involvement, in practice top-down approaches to decision-making are still prevalent in heritage tourism planning, as decision-making continues to reside with traditional 'power-holders', such as government agents and appointed officials (Su & Wall, 2014; Su et al., 2016). Furthermore, destinations that embark on collaborative projects usually seek to establish partnerships with major governmental and non-governmental institutions, excluding informal groups of citizens (Landorf, 2009). Consequently, citizen-inclusive participation is either non-existent or limited to advice and consultation, reflecting 'minimal' involvement, where participants have little power to influence policy effectively (Marzuki et al., 2012; Spencer, 2010). As the pursuit of pluralist planning creates procedural difficulties and calls for administrative transformation, participation has become unpleasant for both policymakers and heritage managers (Izdiak et al., 2015). In turn, the dilemma between a failed participatory attempt and none leads to avoidance of public involvement in both general governance and heritage tourism decisions (Lovan et al., 2017). Consequently, the concept of community participation, as an approach to collaborative destination planning, remains largely unfulfilled.

Admittedly, theoretical arguments for community participation have been too weak to influence the policy changes that are necessary to move towards more democratic planning. Although there has been extensive research in the conceptual foundations of community participation, in practice there is presently little knowledge of how top-down management can approach and engage non-expert citizens in effective decision-making (Ashley et al., 2015). As efforts to involve communities into destination planning have not been systematic, *ex-post* assessments of participatory projects are inevitably limited (see Section 2.6, Chapter 2). More importantly, there is a research gap in the assessment of the participatory potential of destinations or comparisons of the efficiency and outcomes of participatory versus non-participatory planning procedures (see Section 2.7, Chapter 2). Therefore, further research is critical for examining under-explored key academic and policy questions, such as the drivers

and dynamics of participation and the ways through which emergent destinations can instigate participation in heritage tourism planning as a means to achieve sustainability.

Filling these knowledge voids is vital to inform the design of participatory strategies among destinations with no prior experience of collaborative planning. As participatory narratives tend to take community willingness to participate for granted, research on stakeholders' incentives to be involved has been neglected but is nonetheless invaluable before embarking on community-led planning and engaging with non-expert publics (Fan, 2010; Perkin, 2010). Assumptions that citizens would be eager to take on an active role in complex policy matters and in prolonged procedures, could be refuted by reality (Crooke, 2008; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004). In addition, participation is often seen as a time-consuming and conflict-raising process producing tentative results. However, there is no in-depth study of its effectiveness compared to conventional top-down governance (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Izdiak et al., 2015; Marzuki et al., 2012). Increasing our understanding of collaborative dynamics will be of paramount importance in informing participatory design and execution.

1.2 Research aim and objectives

Since natural observations of participation occur rather infrequently in the tourism field, empirical analyses of community involvement are fragmented. Existing case-studies (see *inter alia* Aas et al., 2005; Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Byrd, 2007; Jordan et al., 2013; Marzuki et al., 2010; Spencer, 2010; Vernon et al., 2005; Wray, 2011) provide valuable insights into the subject, but are particularly heterogeneous in terms of their context, degree and mode of participation. For instance, several cases are confined to public advice and consultation, and as such, they cannot inform participation at 'citizen power' levels (see Section 2.6, Chapter 2). At the same time, there is a research gap in the exploration of destinations before embarking on community-inclusive collaborations. Such enquiry will be valuable for informing participatory design and the initiation processes at destinations where there is low pre-existing agency of non-expert communities.

Based on the aforementioned, this thesis aims to extend the current line of enquiry by focusing on participation on the higher rungs of Arnstein's (1969) taxonomy, where non-state

stakeholders are assigned decisive power to influence policy decisions (see Section 2.5, Chapter 2). On this basis, an *ex-ante* evaluation of participatory tourism planning is conducted in order to examine how community involvement can be introduced to areas with no contributory civic and political culture. The purpose of *ex-ante* assessments is to inform decisions on whether or not to develop or pursue a particular strategy (Pries-Heje et al., 2008), while also examining wider under-explored academic questions, such as what drives communities to participate in the first instance. To our knowledge, this is the first study that adopts this approach to heritage tourism research, exploring key dynamics of participation (i.e. why to participate, why to cooperate and how context shapes behaviour, see Section 3.4, Chapter 3).

Following a case-study design, the thesis conducts an in-depth analysis of an emerging destination and its community. As our enquiry seeks to explore complex human affairs and context-dependent societal and policy issues, the single case-study approach is considered most appropriate (Flyvbjerg, 2006). As discussed in Chapter 5, the case-study of Kastoria in Greece, an emerging rural destination with signs of a lack of heritage, social and economic viability, is an example which provides a suitable context for exploring the beginning of participatory heritage tourism, by capturing its situation and conditions (Yin, 2009). In particular, Kastoria is challenged by its depressed economy (e.g. national debt crisis, 30% unemployment), its ever-decreasing and ageing population, and its heritage 'at risk'. A salient example of its cultural significance and fragile future is the inclusion of its historic urban neighbourhoods in the list of 'The 7 Most Endangered' heritage sites by Europa Nostra, described as one of the most threatened heritage landmarks of Europe (de Leon, 2015). In this context, the thesis proposes community-led sustainable heritage tourism as an instrument to stimulate Kastoria's local economy, safeguard the conservation of its heritage landscape, and revitalise its host community.

By drawing on empirical evidence from Kastoria, the study explores three pivotal research questions regarding the initiation of community-inclusive planning in an emerging heritage tourism destination. It formulates these questions based on the relevant literature in heritage, tourism and community-based research canon, and examines them through a cross-disciplinary theoretical analysis which is inspired by participatory governance studies, socio-

politics and economics (see Chapter 3). Where appropriate, it formulates specific hypotheses based on theory with the view to test them empirically.

First, existing work highlights that collaborative processes need to start by gaining a good understanding of how 'heritage' is conceived by its various stakeholders and how the latter interact with it (Davis et al., 2010). 'Utility' derived from heritage resources can be diverse and people's associations with heritage sites, objects and practices are of primary interest as it is they who will impart significance and give meanings to the resources of the past (Hall, 1997). As Smith (2009) stresses, community members are likely to view heritage in different ways: as a resource of public interest or monetary gain, as a fragile asset that needs protection or as the subject of expert research. In this light, official/state assessments of heritage may not be relevant across the community and perceptions of 'what is heritage' may differ substantially among non-expert groups, state authorities and professionals (Bessiere, 2013; Harrison, 2013; Mydland & Grahn, 2012).

In fact, previous studies show that most commonly, non-expert communities invest heritage with social, symbolic and identity characteristics, historic associations and a sense of connection to place (Fouseki & Sakka, 2013; Mydland & Grahn, 2012; Smith, 2009). However, since values are destination-specific and continually renegotiated, we hold that participatory processes can become an instrument to recognize and promote their diversity. This will also help enriching the intellectual drive of participatory projects, which normally rests exclusively with researchers and specialists (Aigner, 2016; Chirikure et al., 2010). Furthermore, based on social interpretivism, a key theoretical thread of general governance (Chhotray & Murray, 2009), community members are situated agents, as their actions are shaped by their social understanding of a policy situation and the cultural meanings and values that they assign to it (Bevir, 2013; Ron, 2016). Thus, interpreting what is termed as heritage and what is consciously or subconsciously perceived as such by destination hosts is critically important in making planning relevant to, and communicating with, non-expert community groups.

Parallel to this, there is a need to evaluate existing relationships between different stakeholders and the ways through which heritage appropriation by one party might affect other parties (Hughes et al., 2016). Community-based work requires an exploration of

community strengths, resources, history, culture, locally important issues and pre-existing partnerships before collaborations are initiated (Giachello, 2007). Additionally, in participatory governance, it is stressed that power, resource and knowledge imbalances play important roles in shaping collaborative environments as they can influence both the interests and behaviour of social actors that wish to embark on heritage tourism planning (Anshell & Gash, 2008). Similarly, new institutional governance theories, rooted in economics (i.e. bounded-rationality communitarianism and social constructivism; see Sections 3.2 and 3.3, Chapter 3) suggest that cooperation among community groups is influenced by institutional and social situational variables, such as prior history of relationships amongst participants and their dependence and interaction with a common pool of resources (Lowndes, 2010; Ostrom, 1990).

Therefore, the study is interested in exploring stakeholder perceptions of heritage and place in order to assess the initial conditions from which participatory approaches to planning can be instigated. Perceptions of heritage and current practices of heritage interaction and management are critical to inform the instigation of participation. For instance, understanding the ways in which current heritage and heritage tourism management are ineffective, can help realise how top-down inefficiencies can be reduced via community involvement. Moreover, this exploration will look into the interrelationships among stakeholders and between citizens and institutions in order to interpret the traditions and norms of a community that shape subjects and places (Bevir, 2013; Vincent, 2004). Our goal is to gain knowledge of the socio-cultural dynamics (i.e. how institutions and local agencies operate and interact with each other) and their potential influences on the future of participatory initiatives. To this end, our first research question is expressed as follows:

Q1. What local narratives surround heritage and how are these shaped by stakeholders' interactions and practices?

Secondly, available empirical evidence shows that the identification and delivery of proper motivations to communities are vital for the success of participatory initiatives (Fan, 2013; Perkin, 2010). Nevertheless, the issue of how to engage communities has received little scholarly attention (Ashley et al., 2015; Fan, 2013). Based on economic theory, participation

can be viewed as an exchange between social actors who invest their time and effort in anticipation of some personal and collective gains (see Section 3.3.1, Chapter 3). As underlined in heritage and in heritage tourism research, community engagement should not be regarded as an altruistic process but rather as an effort that seeks to accommodate trade-offs between benefits and costs (Crooke, 2010; Watkins & Beaver, 2008). Therefore, expectations of participatory results against the balance of energy and resources devoted to the process, need to be interpreted and used to inform engagement policy. This view also complies with rational institutionalism (see Section 3.3, Chapter 3), suggesting that institutional (participatory) design needs to provide proper incentives that will encourage cooperation amongst the community (Sorensen & Torting, 2007). Given that we need more knowledge of the factors that motivate or demotivate citizens' desire to be involved, our second research question is formulated as follows:

Q2. What factors drive community intentions to participate in heritage tourism planning?

However, as this question is particularly broad, it can be broken into smaller testable hypotheses based on the literature. Beginning from the cultural fabric of the destination, it is important to assess the impact of heritage values on community behaviour. Heritage values reflect the personal and societal benefits derived from financing and managing heritage, by unravelling both tangible and intangible meanings assigned to heritage resources (Dillon et al., 2014; Worthing & Bond, 2007). As analysed in Section 3.3 (Chapter 3), heritage values are particularly relevant to collaborative planning (Mason, 2006), and there is purpose to exploring their influence on intentions to participate. It is plausible to assume that the nature of heritage values and the degree to which a destination community acknowledges them as important, may impact their participation in terms of higher appreciation and therefore higher stakes in heritage tourism development. This leads us to propose our first hypothesis:

H1. Heritage values drive willingness to participate in heritage tourism planning.

In parallel, it is valuable to investigate community aspirations with regards to tourism development and whether this influences, either positively or negatively, their future involvement in heritage tourism planning. Tourism impacts are commonly classified as

economic (e.g. invigoration of the local economy, employment opportunities), social (e.g. capacity building, community pride) and environmental (e.g. natural and cultural heritage conservation) (Wall & Mathieson, 2012). Previous empirical work in tourism demonstrates that community members that perceive a greater level of tourism-led economic gains, normally retain a more positive attitude towards tourism development (see *inter alia* Andereck et al. 2005; Chen & Chen, 2010; Choi & Murray, 2010; Gursoy et al., 2002; Vargas-Sanchez et al., 2011). Based on this premise, a reasonable hypothesis to test is whether expectations of positive tourism impacts are also correlated with intentions towards participation, by motivating community to be involved as a way to influence and drive policy towards the realization of anticipated benefits. Thus, our second hypothesis is the following:

H2. Expectations of positive tourism impacts exert a positive influence on willingness to participate in heritage tourism planning.

Furthermore, it is important to assess the broader societal context of community involvement given that the local environment and place can affect citizens' engagement (Brodie et al., 2011; Frank & Smith, 2000; Gianchello, 2007). Relevant work holds that community political culture shapes people's perceptions on the role of citizens and authorities, which in turn can influence attitudes towards participation (Ebdon, 2000; Perkin, 2010). Community-based research suggests that a catalyst to participation is the degree to which community members believe that their involvement can influence policy (Brodie et al., 2011). These factors along with broader societal conditions (e.g. community attachment, trust, cohesiveness) are said to drive participation and to form a fertile ground for pursuing collective action (Chirikure et al., 2010; Gianchello, 2007; Nunkoo & Ramkinsoon, 2011). Hence, it is suggested that perceptions of place and community, local political culture and local priorities are key issues when establishing community-based collaborations (Brodie et al., 2011). Taking into consideration these arguments, the thesis explores empirically their validity in mobilizing communities to engage in heritage tourism policy. Our hypothesis is that community characteristics that shape the social fabric of a destination, such as place attachment and societal relationships along with civic support for collaborative planning, affect willingness to participate positively. This leads us to our third testable hypothesis:

H3. Community ideals affect willingness to participate in heritage tourism planning positively.

Thirdly, considering the existing gaps in empirical *ex-ante* participation and comparative assessments of decision-making procedures, it is extremely meaningful to explore collaborative decision-making within a destination context. A move from top-down management towards power-sharing and community-led action is naturally imbued with uncertainty about performance and outcomes among destinations that are completely unfamiliar with the process (Lovan et al., 2017). Despite the inherent qualities and ideals of democratic planning, it is perhaps naïve to expect that destinations will pursue participation as an end in itself, considering the disruption, complexity and costs involved (Araujo & Bramwell, 2002; Marien & Pizam, 1997; Okazaki, 2008; Swarbrooke, 1999). Participatory planning does not merely involve the risk of sacrificing time and monetary resources to a process that may eventually fail to pay off, but it also raises scepticism about whether economically-deprived non-expert communities will support sustainable heritage tourism policies (Landorf, 2009; Lowenthal, 2015; Pacifico & Vogel, 2012; Redclift, 2005). Thus, more evidence is critical to increasing our knowledge on the outcomes of destination community involvement on Arnstein's (1969) citizen power ranks, and the factors that encourage cooperation for pro-heritage policies (Ostrom, 1990).

In this light, the thesis is interested in exploring empirically collaborative decision-making in order to evaluate the effectiveness of participatory versus conventional planning procedures. Such assessment is extremely novel as the implications of involving communities have never been directly compared to the implications of not involving them. More crucially, an exploration of community behaviour in collaborative settings is valuable in examining the dynamics of cooperation, such as negotiation, deliberation and conflict, hence offering new insights into establishing effective participatory arrangements (Anshell & Gash, 2008; Ostrom, 1990). Based on the aforementioned, the third research question of the thesis is set as follows:

Q3. Directly compared to conventional governance, how do participatory groups perform when assigned with real power to influence decisions?

Following this general question, it is interesting to test specific hypotheses that relate to collaborative planning. As implied earlier, participatory 'citizen power' levels raise issues of trust as heritage tourism development requires capital investment decisions and the management of defined resources (Jordan et al., 2013; Pacifico & Vogel, 2012; see also Section 3.3.2, Chapter 3). In this context, both institutional trust and community credibility become essential and need to be established (Kimbu & Ngoasong, 2013; Ostrom, 1990). Although theoretically participation is believed to form a step towards a more equitable share of tourism benefits, its application may also serve as an opportunity to ratify decisions in favour of the personal gains of its most persuasive and powerful participants (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004). This implies an 'inherent' risk in participatory planning, i.e. whether decisions reached collaboratively will be effective in promoting commonly-beneficial and sustainable tourism action. Hence, it is purposeful to examine whether decisions made by participatory groups lead to a reduction in collaborative investment decisions compared to conventional top-down decision-making. Thus, our fourth hypothesis (H4) is formulated as follows:

> **H4.** Participatory decision-making leads to lower pro-heritage investments compared to non-participatory investment choices.

In addition, some of the most commonly reported obstacles to pursuing participatory processes in the literature are difficulties in reaching consensus, lengthy decision-making times and the existence of multiple and often incompatible interests (Izdiak et al., 2015; Marzuki et al., 2012). More specifically, it is maintained that longer deliberation exposes decision-making to the diverse values that may exist across a community and that contested opinions give rise to conflict (Lo et al., 2013). The latter is regarded as a destructive force and a negative consequence of community involvement (Byrd et al., 2009; Davis et al., 2010; Marzuki et al., 2012). These observations are plausible, as the essence of participation is the opportunity of social actors and local agents to communicate and reach a compromise. Yet, it will be interesting to explore the degree to which community involvement entails a trade-off between inclusiveness and efficiency by testing the performance of participatory groups against non-participatory ones within the same context. Having more evidence on this issue,

or knowing what to expect, will be valuable as extensive decision-making times and incapacity to reach decisions can be particularly costly. This leads us to our fifth hypothesis:

H5. Participatory governance structures are less effective than non-participatory ones, in terms of being more prone to time-consuming and conflict-raising decision-making.

Furthermore, researchers such as Ladkin and Bertramini (2002) and Markwick (2000) suggest that collaboration can be particularly complicated because of the multiplicity and heterogeneity of community members and perceptions. In the literature, heterogeneity is considered as problematic when it comes to decision-making and is negatively linked to governance effectiveness, given that varying demands are more likely to increase conflict (Ebdon, 2000; Ebdon & Franklin, 2008; Ostrom, 1990). Traditional power-holder interests may differ considerably from citizen drivers whereas a diversity of beliefs across different stakeholder groups could complicate collaborations (Byrd et al., 2009; Jordan et al., 2013; Waligo et al., 2013). In heritage tourism, dissimilarity of perceptions and preferences is further confounded by what is collectively valued as heritage and how heritage is collectively valued which presupposes shared judgements on its importance and potential for tourism development (Bessiere, 2013). Inconsistency in the valuation of heritage and the willingness to allocate resources to actions that promote it are thus parameters that deserve attention. Moreover, intuitive heterogeneity related to the internal and external legitimacy of the parties involved (e.g. perceptions of competence) should also be considered as this is believed to influence cooperation (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010; Ostrom, 1990). Gaining a better understanding of the influence of these factors on heritage tourism decisions, and more critically, investigating the degree to which ideological disparity impacts negatively on collaborative governance can offer important insights into the dynamics of decision-making. Subsequently, our sixth testable hypothesis (H6) is the following:

H6. Group heterogeneity exerts significant negative influences on heritage tourism investment decisions.

An overview of the research questions and hypotheses of the thesis is provided by Figure 1.1. To address these questions, the study uses a mixed methodological approach to Kastoria, where it collects, analyses, and combines a wide set of empirical findings that help draw important conclusions that significantly enhance our previous knowledge on the subject. The originality and contribution of this work is elaborated further in the next section.

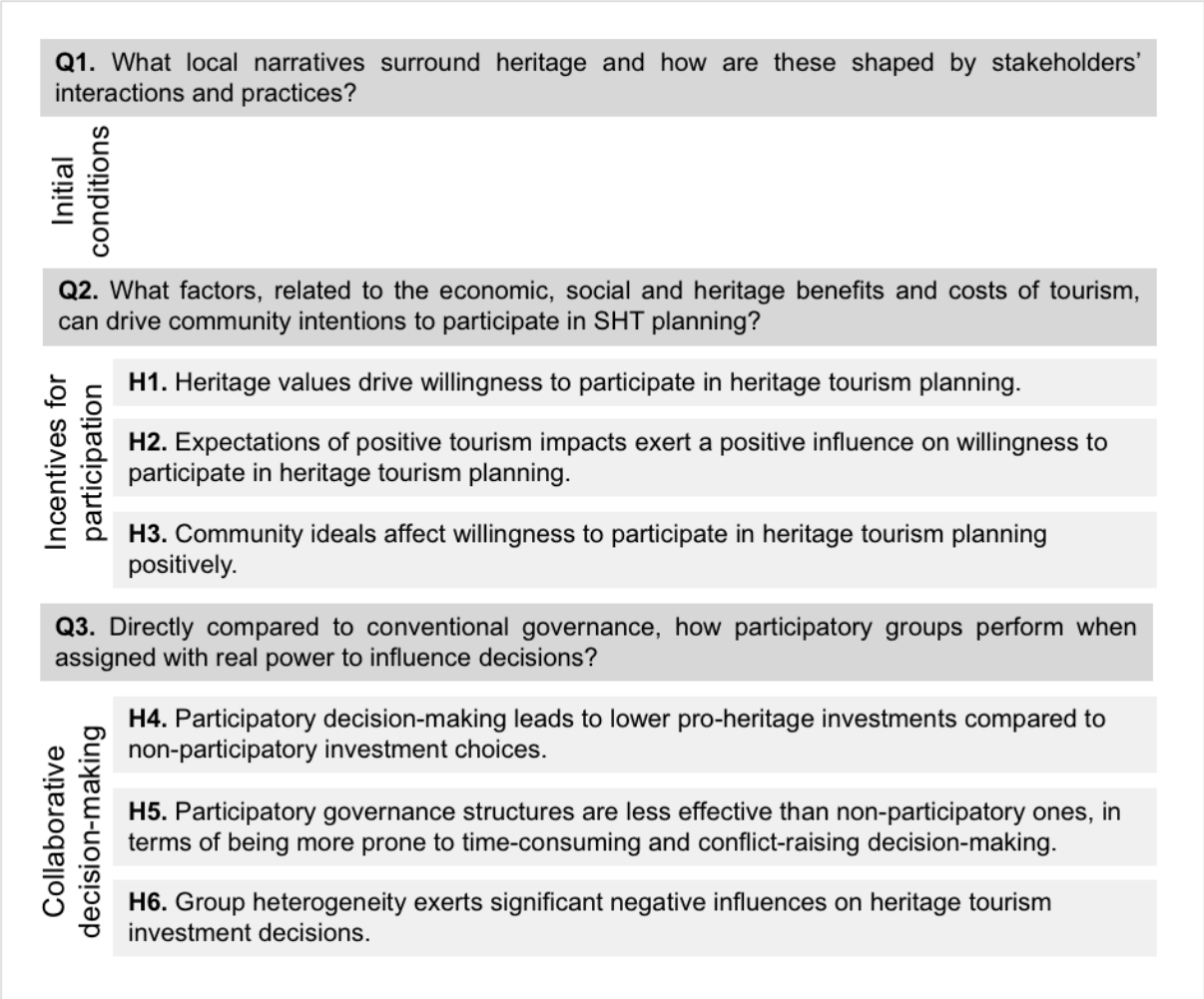

Figure 1.1 Research questions and hypotheses of the thesis.

1.3 Originality and contribution

Academic discourses in the tourism field engage mainly in *ex-post* valuations of community-inclusive projects to inform participatory policy, most commonly by employing qualitative survey methods, such as interviews and focus groups with participants (see indicatively Aas

et al., 2005; Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Byrd, 2007; Jordan et al., 2015; Spencer, 2010; Wray, 2011). Dependence on real-world applications which are *de facto* rare leads to an imbalance between theoretical and empirical work on the subject while creating a shortfall in *ex-ante* research that informs how community involvement can be pursued in destinations with no previous participatory experiences.

Furthermore, community participation is often treated as a technical approach to development rather than as a transformative one (Hickey & Mohan, 2004). A mechanical viewpoint, detached from local social dynamics can be particularly problematic, given that participation is unavoidably influenced by community-based and context-specific characteristics (Ebdon, 2000). Host community members, either expert or non-expert, state officials or citizens, act against a specific social background that shapes their needs, ideals, reasoning and interrelationships (Bevir, 2013). However, much empirical discussion on participatory heritage and general tourism, although interesting, remains disconnected from this background (see, for instance, Jordan et al., 2015; Spencer, 2010; Wray, 2011, Vernon et al., 2005). In contrast, the thesis holds that investigating how prior circumstances shape community preferences and behaviours and which socially-constructed elements drive attitudes and decisions, is particularly relevant to research on whether and how participation in heritage tourism planning can take place in a particular destination. In addition, it is maintained that exploring what promotes partnerships, what are the dynamics of participatory processes (e.g. deliberation, conflict) and what encourages people to endorse pro-heritage policies deserve more scholarly attention.

Based on these concerns, the study engages for the first time in an *ex-ante* evaluation of the participatory environment in an emerging destination with no pre-history of community agency over tourism policy. The purpose of an *ex-ante* assessment is to inform decisions on whether or not to develop or pursue a particular strategy (Pries-Heje et al., 2008). In this case, policy decisions reflect the dilemma between participatory or non-participatory planning approaches for heritage tourism and the ways in which the application of participatory planning can be more effective. To our knowledge, this is the first study that adopts such an approach to tourism participatory research.

Another innovation of this study is its mixed methodological design (see Chapter 4). Moving beyond the regularly employed qualitative survey methods, the mixed methods paradigm benefits from the strengths and lessens the weaknesses of both qualitative and quantitative techniques by collecting and analysing primary data through different but complementary research tools (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). For instance, an attitudinal survey instrument and regression statistical analysis are employed for the first time in order to elicit the factors that drive community intentions towards participation (see Chapter 7). Most interestingly, the thesis introduces economic experiments to the heritage-tourism literature, as a powerful methodological mechanism for examining induced social behaviour towards policy issues (Croson, 2003; Exadaktylos et al., 2013). By conducting a field experiment, the thesis 'simulates' collaborative decision-making and directly compares performance across different decision-making frameworks, including conventional government-led, grassroots and mixed participatory groups for the first time in the literature (see Chapter 8).

1.4 Outline of thesis

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 reviews the existing literature on the area of sustainable heritage tourism and community participation in order to conceptualize key ideas that frame our research topic and identify present gaps in our knowledge of the subject. The review comprises an interdisciplinary synthesis of published literature in the areas of heritage, tourism and development, providing key definitions and explaining how the concept of sustainable development fits within the heritage tourism field. At a theoretical level, the ideological and practical benefits of involving communities in planning procedures are presented while different levels of participation are also discussed. Moreover, the chapter draws on a series of case-studies that assess participatory endeavours and provide an overview of the current state of participatory heritage tourism, exposing the complexity of implementing the participatory ideal. Based on scholarly discourses, the chapter argues that in order to be sustainable, heritage tourism development needs to build upon multi-stakeholder collaborations, synergies between tourism and heritage professionals, and local community involvement. However, existing voids are identified in empirical research into the elements that drive community attitudes towards participation and the dynamics of

collaborative processes within destinations, which are essential for informing the instigation of participatory planning.

Next, Chapter 3 engages in theories of participatory governance with a view to building a framework that can guide the study and inform the interpretation of its fieldwork findings. This framework departs from the general ideas of political and institutional communitarianism, which advocate for participatory decision-making and decentralized collective action to resolve policy issues. Based on these broader theoretical threads, it discusses how social exchange theory (Emerson, 1976; 1987), common-pool resources theory (Ostrom, 1990), and social interpretivism (Bevir, 2013) can shed more light into how community-led action for sustainable heritage tourism can be set in motion. In particular, it is held that these theoretical concepts can be instrumental in explaining motivations to participate as processes of social exchange, the dynamics of participation as arrangements for cooperation and community behaviour as the product of social interpretation of traditions and values.

Chapter 4 discusses the methodological approach of the study, provides details of its data collection strategy and explains the procedures employed for data analysis. This includes a description of the ontological, epistemological and methodological directions that shaped the thesis enquiry into the subject, along with a thorough account of its fieldwork techniques and the observational and experimental evidence employed to inform its research questions. In particular, the chapter presents a mixed methodological approach, developed in three phases; in-depth interviews with the community of Kastoria, a quantitative questionnaire survey, and an economic quasi-field experiment. As it is argued, a mixture of qualitative and quantitative empirical evidence can inform our research questions while minimising the imperfections and biases associated with each individual method.

Chapter 5 describes the geographical context of the thesis by presenting the case-study of Kastoria in Greece. The chapter frames the destination by providing some key background details that demonstrate it is particularly interesting for fieldwork investigation. Major socio-economic and heritage management issues are identified and highlighted, as these challenge its current and future prosperity and sustainability. In this context, a community-inclusive

development of its heritage tourism is proposed as a solution for securing its viability, to prevent the further reduction of its rich heritage reserve, revitalising its severely-hit economy and reversing its demographic decline.

Chapter 6 explores the attitudes of local stakeholders towards local heritage, and in particular those of state officials and citizens. This allows the assessment of the nature of associations made with the past (i.e. how heritage is understood and how the community interacts with it) and the evaluation of local practices of heritage management. In addition, the chapter examines the relationships among stakeholders and their perceptions of each other's policy position. Interactions between experts and non-experts as well as citizens and government agents are discussed in order to assess the prospects of citizen participation in heritage tourism planning and to identify any major issues and challenges that need to be addressed before embarking on collaborative decision-making. As it is revealed by oral accounts, dominant top-down policy complies with Harrison's (2011) distinction between 'official' and 'unofficial' heritage and Smith's (2006) 'Authorised Heritage Discourses' that place strong emphasis on monumental cultural material of 'self-evident' significance. It is argued that this ideological hegemony and its subsequent practice had cultivated a community culture of 'detachment' from heritage resources and a tradition of mutual distrust among experts and citizens.

Chapter 7 presents the empirical results of attitudinal survey data that profile the advocates of community involvement and the elements which are capable of influencing intentions towards participation. Heritage values, perceptions of tourism impacts and factors that revolve around community and civic ideals are tested against respondents' willingness to participate. Furthermore, community attitudes are examined in relation to demographic characteristics, to identify whether personal circumstances such as education, place attachment and spatial proximity to heritage alter intentions to participate, beliefs and drivers to be involved. A key finding of this chapter is that communal values and ties are the most influential drivers to mobilizing community. Thus, although existing tourism literature focuses much of its attention on tangible tourism benefits as a key stimulus for community involvement (see *inter alia*, Saufi et al., 2014; Stone & Stone, 2011; Wang et al., 2010), our

findings suggest that in emerging heritage tourism destinations, engagement strategies need to emphasize participants' sense of place and the attachment felt for locality.

Chapter 8 analyses primary experimental data of directly comparative (*ceteris paribus*) conventional, grassroots and participatory collaborative decision-making for heritage investments. In particular, we analyse the behaviour of human subjects (i.e. state officials and citizens across different group compositions) when assigned with an endowment allocation task and asked to make decisions collectively. The chapter discusses their performance (i.e. outcomes, deliberation and conflict) and explores how individual and communal preferences were shaped by subjects' perceptions and profile. Intra-group heterogeneity, negotiations, and sources of dispute are also considered. This is the first direct comparison of different power structures for tourism policymaking, conducted *ex-ante* in an experimental setting. Our comparative evidence of participatory and counterfactual decision-making demonstrates that they are equally effective in cooperating to promote the provision of heritage goods, the constructive role of conflict, and the persistent influence of (dis)trust in driving individual and collective behaviour.

Chapter 9 provides a synthesis of empirical fieldwork results (i.e. interviews, survey and experimental data). It analyses the emergent themes from community narratives, discusses the connection between heritage and communal values in mobilising participation and elaborates on conflict and trust as dynamic features of collaborative decision-making. From this analysis it extracts important inferences with regards to community-based interpretations and traditions (e.g. heritage dichotomies and traditions of distrust; Bevir, 2013), subjective valuations of expected utility in exchange for participation (i.e. heritage, tourism and communal reinforcement; Emerson, 1976; 1987), and the dynamics of community cooperation for the collective provision of heritage goods (e.g. the interplay of institutionally and socially-formulated decision-making choices; Ostrom, 1990). Based on its discussion, the chapter argues that the instigation of community-led heritage tourism planning needs to become a transformative gradual process of policy and broader socio-cultural change.

Finally, Chapter 10 offers an overview of the key findings of the thesis and its responses to the research questions of the study. It draws specific conclusions and policy implications that can inform the instigation of community-led participatory planning in emerging destinations. In addition, the chapter discusses the limitations of the study while recommending future research avenues. Based on its new empirical evidence and the previous theoretical literature on the subject, the core proposition of the thesis is that emerging destinations which wish employ their heritage to stimulate tourism growth should do so through community-led collaborative planning to achieve sustainability.

CHAPTER 2

Community-inclusive sustainable heritage tourism planning: defining the 'what' and the 'why'

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to conduct a critical, interdisciplinary literature review on the subject of participatory and sustainable heritage tourism. It does so by conceptualizing key ideas that frame the research topic and by establishing the state-of-the-art in terms of community participation in the development of heritage tourism in Europe and beyond. In particular, the chapter presents a multi-disciplinary collection of scholarly work in heritage studies, general and heritage tourism, as well as, development and community-based research. It provides definitions to basic but complex terms, such as heritage, heritage tourism, sustainability, community and community participation. It also explains how the concept of sustainable development applies to the heritage tourism field and describes the ideological and practical merits of involving communities in planning procedures. More importantly, it describes the different levels of participation, and it draws on several case-studies to illustrate the complications and gaps of implementing the participatory ideal to destination policy.

As it is observed, the literature largely acknowledges community involvement as vital for heritage tourism sustainability (e.g. Choi & Sirikaya, 2006; Cohen-Hatttab, 2013; Dodds, 2007; Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2005; Getz & Timur, 2005; Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Hardy et al., 2002; Marzuki et al., 2012; Matarrita-Cascante, 2010; McCool & Moisey, 2001; Nunkoo & Ramkinssoon, 2012; Reggers et al., 2016; Salazar, 2012), however, in practice, participation by non-expert informal groups, such as local citizens, is either non-existent or limited to consultation. Therefore, the chapter argues that despite scholarly consensus for participatory planning, there are still significant and critical knowledge voids in the drivers and dynamics of community involvement into policy matters. In consequence, the chapter suggests that further research is crucial for informing how emergent destinations can instigate participation

and for shedding more light into community incentives for participation and into conditions for effective collaboration.

2.2 What is heritage tourism

The concept of 'heritage' is undeniably very broad and dynamic, normally used as an umbrella term to describe the practice of intergenerational transmission and cultural continuity (Fouseki & Cassar, 2015) and denote the cultural resources of the past that are still valued in the present (Ashworth, 2003; Graham et al., 2000). The International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS, 1999) suggests that heritage embraces both the natural and the cultural environment whereas the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO, 2003) identifies heritage assets as both tangible and intangible. Thus, the realm of heritage ranges from landscapes, monuments and artefacts to cultural practices, artistic expressions and oral traditions, including customs, languages or rituals (Ahmad, 2006; Boyd & Butler, 2000; Crooke, 2008; Watkins and Beaver, 2008). In this light, heritage can be anything and everything (Fouseki & Cassar, 2015) or more critically, heritage is a process; a narration of the past that is continually shaped in the present (Beardlee, 2016; Lowenthal, 2015). This idea of heritage as a modern social construct suggests that its various tangible and intangible elements are adapted and enriched by those who live and reclaim them (Smith, 2003). Therefore, heritage is invested with multiple meanings that move beyond artistic and aesthetic principles to notions of belonging, identity and essence of place (Graham, 2002). All these approaches to heritage are useful, manifesting its subjectivity, diversity and changeability.

Given the fluidity of the term heritage, it is no surprise that heritage tourism is imbued with similar flexibility. Heritage tourism is a form of special-interest tourism - a type of tourism activity where heritage plays a central part in shaping travellers' motivations and experiences (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Timothy and Boyd (2006) describe heritage tourism as encompassing visits to places of historic events and archaeological monuments whereas Smith (2009) includes visitors' engagement in architecture, museums and religious sites. Furthermore, Timothy and Nyaupane (2009) suggest that heritage tourism revolves around

present culture and folk elements that are inherited from the past, such as local cuisines, crafts and traditions that witness the cultural legacy of destinations.

In recent decades, the decline of traditional markets and rural industries created the need to explore new means of growth and diversification of local economies (Byrd et al., 2009). Although tourism is generally regarded as a key industry for stimulating development (Davis & Morais, 2004; Hassan, 2000; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Simpson, 2001; Sugiyarto et al., 2002; Vanegas & Croes, 2003), the 'heritagisation' of tourism experiences, in particular, is increasingly seen as a means of improving the attractiveness and uniqueness of remote regions and peripheral economies (Ayala, 2005; Bessiere, 2013; Greffe, 2004). The growing market of heritage tourists offers opportunities for the economic prosperity of culturally-rich destinations, as a way of establishing alternative revenue streams and compensating for the loss of their manufacturing activities (Moser et al., 2003; Smith, 2009). Furthermore, given that heritage resources are often challenged by financial constraints, physical dilapidation or the risk of being forgotten, their positioning at the heart of tourism activity promises to resolve issues of conservation and protection, promote heritage awareness, increase hosts' self-esteem and pride, and motivate the revival of declining cultural practices (Ashley et al., 2000; Cohen, 2002; Hausmann, 2007; Nyaupane et al., 2006; Rogers, 2002; Timothy, 2000; Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009).

Nevertheless, similarly to the development of any type of tourism activity, heritage tourism growth may have both positive and negative impacts on destinations (Simpson, 2001; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Quite commonly, tourism investment is viewed as a 'quick-fix' solution to economic problems, resulting in uncontrolled tourism activity which creates detrimental effects on tourist attraction places (Smith, 2009; UNEP, 2003). On the economic side, the lack of appropriate tourism policy can lead to the marginalisation of local businesses, the escalation of prices, and the repatriation of tourism income, returning minimal economic benefits to destination hosts, who are nonetheless heavily affected by tourism change (Mbaiwa, 2005). In parallel, financial support for heritage can be minimum if tourism-generated revenues are channelled to other government projects or otherwise fly off destinations (Tosun, 2000). In turn, heritage sites may suffer littering, vandalism, wear and tear and degradation due to careless or excessive use (Austin, 2002; Merhav & Killebrew,

1998). Socio-cultural benefits may fail to materialize because of deprived access to crowded heritage places, displacement, and undesirable cultural transformation and commodification (Kasim, 2006; McLean & Straede, 2003; Medina, 2003; Meskell, 2005; Mortensen, 2006; Nyaupane et al., 2006; Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009). Consequently, if heritage professionals view tourism as trading in conservation principles for economic profit, and host residents experience the opportunity costs of tourism investment that contradicts their aspirations, tourism will end up lacking the support of both the heritage sector and the general public. Based on the aforementioned, one should not be much surprised that the tourism-heritage relationship is often portrayed as a dipole of conflict, clashed values and uncompromised interests (Aas et al., 2005; Huang et al., 2012; Su & Wall, 2014).

As it is observed in the literature, the scale and nature of tourism activities largely determines whether development benefits or harms destinations (Smith, 2009). Given that there can be mutual benefits between heritage, destination hosts and tourism, relevant planning should focus on establishing common objectives across them. The cultivation of an interdependent relationship between heritage and tourism can be favourable for maintaining and enhancing heritage resources on condition that tourism-generated income recirculates in conservation and development projects (Ashworth, 1993; ICOMOS, 1999; OECD, 2009; Russo & van de Borg, 2002). Otherwise heritage degradation on account of poorly-planned tourism would eventually lead to the decline of both heritage resources and monetary profits (Aas et al., 2005). Therefore, it is vital for regions that seek to employ heritage tourism as an economic-growth engine to develop and implement appropriate policies and management strategies that will ensure their long-term success (De Oliveira, 2003; Puczko & Ratz, 2000; Southgate & Sharpley, 2002; Yuksel et al., 1999).

Overall, growing concerns on tourism impacts led to the transferring of the idea of sustainability to the tourism field, where it has now become a central subject (Saarinen, 2006). The concept of sustainable development is particularly relevant to heritage tourism as it provides a holistic view of the economic, social and heritage-related impacts of tourism on destinations, by proposing balanced small-scale and consensual initiatives. The next section provides a detailed account of how the principles of sustainable development fit with heritage tourism.

2.3 The relevance of sustainable development to heritage tourism

The idea of sustainable development emerged as a general eco-development approach to emphasise the relationship between economic development and ecology (Hardy et al., 2002). A 1987 report by the World Commission on Environment and Development provided a broadly recognised definition of the term as the 'process to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED, 1987, p. 8). More famously, the concept was reflected upon at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development that was held in Rio of Brazil in 1992. The Rio Earth Summit crystallised the notion that the optimal form of growth needs to follow a three-pillar approach; the economic, the social, and the environmental with the view to achieve an equilibrium across them (see Agenda 21, United Nations, 1992). Such equilibrium implies a compromise of financial profitability with social justice and ecological balance to ensure that development is not detrimental to any its sub-systems (Lehtonen, 2004; Redclift, 2005).

In later years, the sustainability model was further elaborated and the cultural dimension was set as an additional key dimension (see indicatively, Agenda 21 for Culture, UCLG 2004; 2010; Faro Convention, Council of Europe, 2005). Furthermore, in the Budapest Declaration, heritage was declared 'as an instrument for the sustainable development of all societies through dialogue and mutual understanding' (UNESCO, 2002, art. 1). Thus, the updated four-pillar version of sustainability includes economic viability, social equity, cultural vitality and environmental responsibility (Hawkes, 2001). This updated version of the concept implies that apart from environmental capital (i.e. the natural resources, ecosystems and biodiversity that need to be maintained and preserved for future generations), cultural capital, as a collection of cultural resources, systems, and diversity of artistic and cultural expressions, also calls for equal protection and enhancement (Throsby, 2005).

In turn, sustainable tourism moves beyond the immediate scope of increased revenues and reflects on the social, cultural and environmental implications of tourism activities (Reid, 2003). The UNWTO (1999) definition of sustainable tourism 'as the tourism that meets the needs of present hosts and visitors while safeguarding opportunities for the future', demonstrates its relevance and kinship with the original framework. By taking into full

consideration 'its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts' (UNEP/UNWTO, 2005, pp. 11-12), sustainable tourism seeks to accommodate the interests and aspirations of all affected parties (Waligo et al., 2013).

Interestingly, although sustainable tourism development advocates for a holistic planning approach and takes into account its broader socio-economic context, its focus tends to be inwards and destination-centred, rather than national and global (Sharpley, 2000). More specifically, sustainable tourism is mostly defined as the opposite of mass tourism, advocating for small-scale local development (Hardy & Beeton, 2001). This is because the growth of mass tourism is typically viewed as problematic for the future viability of the industry and its surrounding environments (Saarinen, 2006). Thus, sustainable tourism development is closely related to its parental paradigm but its scope departs from the original concept as its objectives revolve around a local context. It prescribes the prudent use of tourism resources for safeguarding the natural and cultural integrity of destinations in conjunction with their economic health and social welfare (Ahn et al., 2002; Bramwell & Lane, 1993; Mowforth & Munt, 2009; Muller, 1994). A sustainable use of natural and cultural resources suggests that tourism activity needs to retain responsibility for maintaining the elements upon which it depends. Further, economic health translates into business viability and growth based on the economic capacity of destinations whereas social welfare translates into an equal distribution of benefits and costs across anyone interacting with tourism.

A prominent part of sustainable tourism discourses is the instrumental role of multi-stakeholder collaboration as critical to achieve these balances (Bramwell & Lane, 1999; Getz, 1983; Getz & Jamal, 1994; McCool & Moisey, 2001; Murphy, 1985; Timothy, 1998). Based on Freedman (1984), the 'stakeholder' label applies to any group or individual, who may influence or be influenced by tourism-related activities. Given that top-down decisions are not always reflective of stakeholders' interests, it is maintained that a fundamental step towards the management of tourism in a sustainable way is the appreciation of all stakeholder interests and concerns in the planning, designing, and delivery stages of tourism activity (Byrd et al., 2009; Dodds, 2007; Hardy & Beeton, 2001). Stakeholder collaborations can promote the sharing of knowledge, expertise and resources in order to build consensus and creative synergies, which in turn will lead to more effective solutions as compared to

independent actions (Bramwell & Lane, 2000). Thus, the literature holds that sustainable tourism should seek to establish multi-stakeholder collaborations and partnerships between parties with shared resources, the public and private sectors, government agents, non-governmental organisations, informal groups, and citizens that are located at or otherwise have stakes in the destination (Choi & Sirikaya, 2006; Currie et al., 2009; Timothy, 1998; Vernon et al., 2005).

Since its inception, the proposition of multi-stakeholder collaboration was particularly influential and adopted by relevant policy recommendation documents for sustainable tourism operations (e.g. UNEP, 2003; UNWTO, 2004; UNESCO, 2010). For example, the Tourism and Local Agenda 21 (UNEP, 2003, p. 14) clearly states that sustainable tourism strategies need to reflect the views of stakeholders and allow their participation in the decision-making and implementation processes. Similarly, the concept of multi-stakeholder approaches to tourism planning appears persistently in academic work (see, among others, Andriotis, 2005; Byrd et al., 2009; Gossling et al., 2009; Gursoy et al., 2002; McCool, 2009; Okazaki, 2008; Saufi et al., 2014; Southgate & Sharpley, 2002; Waligo et al., 2013).

Similar to sustainable tourism, the pursuit of sustainable heritage tourism (thenceforth, SHT) follows the general objectives outlined above. As implied in the beginning of the chapter, in heritage tourism, visitor experiences rely heavily on the heritage resources of destinations. Consequently, sustainability necessitates the symbiosis of tourism and heritage through the establishment of proper channels of communication among the two sectors, a balance between conservation and tourism, and the reinvestment of tourism-generated revenues to heritage (Aas et al., 2005; Ayala, 2005; Engelhardt, 2005; Smith, 2009; Timothy & Boyd, 2006). More importantly, the management of SHT necessitates the cultivation of collaborations with residents and non-experts. According to Cohen (2002), the concept of social equity in the context of SHT is particularly complex given that destination hosts are both partners in tourism development and users (or even creators) of heritage resources. Therefore, undesirable cultural change, cultural commodification and loss of local control over heritage resources are considered as vast negative tourism influences that impose severe barriers to socio-cultural welfare (Kasim, 2006; McLean & Straede, 2003; Medina, 2003; Meskell, 2005; Mortensen, 2006; Nyaupane et al., 2006; Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009). In this respect, the

planning of heritage tourism activities needs to consider the shared and individual identities of destination hosts in order to promote social cohesiveness and achieve its sustainability goals (Choi & Sirikaya, 2006; Davis et al., 2010; Nunkoo & Ramkinsson, 2011; Porter, 2008; Smith, 2009). The latter suggests that a critical element of SHT is to embrace local communities and involve them into the planning and implementation of development strategies (Aas et al., 2005; Landorf, 2011; Sofield, 2003; Su & Wall, 2014). The concepts of local community and community participation are further elaborated in Section 2.4.

2.4 Community participation in heritage tourism planning: Conceptual perspectives

Local communities are more commonly defined as groups of people who live in the same destination (communities-of-place), or as populations who share the same origins, interests, or collective identities (interest-driven communities; Aas et al., 2005; Atalay, 2010; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Selman, 2004). A community does not represent a single homogeneous entity but rather a diverse and dynamic social group that shares something in common (Singh, 2014). Commonality may relate to geographical proximity, historical links or present-day emotional attachment to heritage places (Chirikure et al., 2010). As with heritage, communities can be also seen as processes: continuously in motion, reconstructed and redefined through their ongoing experiences and relations (Waterton & Smith, 2010). In this light, the thesis adopts a mixed, inclusive definition of communities, as social actors that share something in common, either these are neighbourhoods, civil roles or cultural identities that relate to a locality (Chitty, 2011). Practically, the term refers to the local residents, cultural associations, business owners, tourism professionals, heritage freelancers, and heritage enthusiasts of the destination-of-interest.

As discussed previously (see Section 2.3), a fundamental principle of sustainable development in heritage and general tourism studies is the active involvement of multiple stakeholders in planning procedures (Aas et al., 2005; Currie et al., 2009; Hall, 2007; Jamal & Getz, 1999; Landorf, 2009; Mowforth & Munt, 2003). Stakeholder participation is in essence a mechanism for negotiating collective future action that relates to the promotion and employment of heritage resources by tourism (Landorf, 2009). There is a wide consensus in the literature that an integrated stakeholder approach to tourism should not merely embrace representatives

of the economic, heritage and environmental realms, but also the local communities of destinations, such as citizens, local business owners, and cultural groups (see *inter alia* Choi & Sirikaya, 2006; Cohen-Hatttab, 2013; Dodds, 2007; Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2005; Getz & Timur, 2005; Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Hardy et al., 2002; Marzuki et al., 2012; Matarrita-Cascante, 2010; McCool & Moisey, 2001; Nunkoo & Ramkinssoon, 2012; Reggers et al., 2016; Salazar, 2012).

In particular, SHT necessitates the assessment and embracement of community interests, the values they attach to place and heritage, the dynamics between them and any existing or potential conflicts (Hawkes, 2001; Liwieratos, 2004). Decision-making polyphony is considered vital for realizing sustainability, proposing the active involvement of destination communities in the design of heritage tourism strategies (Li & Hunter, 2015). Therefore, community participation can be described as a pluralist power structure (Jordan et al., 2013), or more dynamically, as a process of empowerment of the broader public through its inclusion in decision-making.

IDEOLOGICAL MOTIVES	PRACTICAL MOTIVES
Promote democracy	Accommodate the needs of those affected
	Bridge divergent interests
Safeguard equitability	Inform tourism policy & heritage interpretation
	Achieve quality hospitality atmosphere
Build social & political capital	Increase legitimacy
	Inspire commitment

Table 2.1 Incentives for pursuing community participation in heritage tourism planning.

Current tourism research proposes both ideological and pragmatic arguments to advocate for community involvement in SHT planning (see Table 2.1). More specifically, the ideological rationale of engaging communities in destination planning is the promotion of more democratic management procedures for those mostly affected by tourism activity (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Hall, 1999; 2007). Participatory management is also seen as a way to decrease socioeconomic inequalities and safeguard a more equitable share of the gains

accrued through tourism (Chirikure et al., 2010; Getz, 1983; Getz & Jamal, 1994; Murphy, 1985; Sofield, 2003). In addition, participatory processes can help realising civic benefits, such as building social and political capital, increasing community skills and promoting social cohesion (Jamal & McDonald, 2011; Nunkoo & Ramkinssoon, 2011). Social capital is defined as localized networks, norms, and trust that promote community coherence and bonding (Landorf, 2011).

On the practical side, there is broad scholarly agreement that understanding local perceptions is key for devising effective strategies to successfully implement sustainable tourism (Hardy & Beeton, 2001; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Participatory tourism planning is commonly viewed as an approach to commensurate and reconcile diverse values and interests, reduce conflicts and increase trust, especially between heritage scientists, tourism professionals and destination hosts (Byrd, 2007; Chirikure et al., 2010; Yuksel et al., 1999). As it is suggested community participation in tourism planning holds potential for building on local knowledge to inform and make effective decisions (Bramwell & Lane, 1999; Gray, 1989; Healey, 1997; Yuksel et al., 1999). In this light, communities need to be treated as partners who add value to the planning process (Bramwell & Lane, 2000; Cohen, 2002).

In turn, contribution and consent by the local community can minimise opposition to new tourism development, given that community aspirations and fears are taken into consideration (Ap, 1992; Reid, 2003). This is particularly relevant to heritage tourism, which often becomes a field of political and social conflict as it is largely connected with the representation and interpretation of the past (Smith, 2009). Heritage tourism activity is directly related to places that are invested with meanings and notions of identity (Crooke, 2008; Davis et al., 2010; Graham, 2002; Lowenthal, 1998; McDowell, 2008; Peckham, 2002; Porter, 2008; Smith, 2006). Heritage resources are shaped by the practices, beliefs and values of destination hosts, whereas local community practices, such as customs and traditions can play a catalyst role in shaping unique tourism experiences. Therefore, previous studies argue that government intervention to heritage management needs to be integrated with community input (Crooke, 2008; Greer, 2010; Pacifico & Vogel, 2012; Selman, 2004). As it is held, the involvement of host communities can create a fertile ground for taking into consideration local perspectives and local articulations of heritage in strategic SHT planning

(Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Smith, 2009). Community-based collaborations can allow professionals to access different perspectives and narratives of local culture and thus, build quality and unique heritage tourism experiences that incorporate multiple interpretations and dimensions of destination heritage (Moser et al., 2003). Therefore, heritage expertise can be enhanced with local heritage knowledge and professional practices can be better integrated with non-experts' needs (Perkin, 2010).

Another element that deserves attention is that communities are not merely affected by tourism but they also affect its performance and success (March & Wilkinson, 2009; Scheyvens, 1999). They play a major part in the shaping of tourism experiences and the hospitality atmosphere of destinations (Hawkins & Bohdanowicz, 2011; March & Wilkinson, 2009; Scheyvens, 1999; UNWTO, 2004). Thus, tourism development cannot ignore local communities because its image relies heavily on their attitudes and behaviour (Okazaki, 2008). Interestingly, it is maintained that when local residents derive benefits from tourism, they show a higher level of tolerance to tourism change and a more favourable attitude towards tourism development (Nunkoo & Ramkinsson, 2011; Su & Wall, 2014; Tosun, 2006; Vargas-Sanchez et al., 2010). In this perspective, participation is presented as a means to decrease opposition and achieve public consensus for tourism policies (Bahaire & Elliott-white, 1999; Vargas-Sanchez et al., 2010; Vernon et al., 2005), as decisions that incorporate public values and opinions will be more legitimate (Beierle, 1998; Carmin, Darnall, & Mil-Homens, 2003; Hall, 2007; Ooi et al., 2015).

In addition, the advocates of community participation maintain that accommodating local needs and aspirations in tourism planning can promote shared responsibility over the decisions made (Araujo & Bramwell, 1999; Linett, 2010; Nelson & Schreiber, 2009) and enhance community commitment to policy goals (Byrd, 2007; Currie et al., 2009; Sofield, 2003; Ooi et al., 2015). Following an inclusive approach to sustainable tourism can reassure that development accords with local needs and that policies and plans, being linked to the general socioeconomic progress of the area, will not be abandoned in the long run (Okazaki, 2008; Sharpley, 2003). Furthermore, within a jointly-managed heritage tourism framework, it is likely that host communities will increase their knowledge and appreciation of their local cultural assets, feel more committed to protecting them and more willing to take action for

their enhancement (Carmin et al., 2003; Heritage Lottery Fund, 2010). Finally, allowing host communities to influence ideas and suggestions at the planning and designing stages can promote a higher degree of shared ownership and inspire a sense of agency (Araujo & Bramwell, 1999; Linett, 2010; Nelson & Schreiber, 2009).

2.5 The levels of community participation

Community participation in the strategic development of sustainable tourism can reach different levels and assume various forms that depend on the set goals (Brown & Weber, 2013). Inspired by the influential work of Arnstein (1969), tourism studies have approached community participation through power redistribution and community empowerment theories (see, for instance, Pimbert & Pretty, 1997; Selman, 2004; Tosun, 1999). A key theoretical premise of their narratives is that participation can be deconstructed into different levels of involvement ranging from expert patronization to citizen autonomy.

Figure 2.1 The ladder of citizen participation, adapted from Arnstein (1969, p. 217). The model emerged in the context of medicine but has widely influenced many disciplines, including heritage and tourism studies.

In particular, Arnstein's (1969) 'ladder of citizen participation' illustrates a step-by-step approach to community empowerment by defining three main participatory situations: non-participation, degrees of tokenism and degrees of citizen power (Figure 2.1). In the two bottom rungs ('manipulation' and 'therapy'), those in power do not allow for meaningful community participation but rather use its rhetoric as a public relations mechanism. In rungs

3 and 4, community members are invited to hear ('informing') and to be heard ('consultation'), for instance, through surveys, group meetings and public hearings. However, community input at these levels is often limited and not always taken into account by those in charge. At rung 5 ('placation'), communities begin to have some influence and give advice, although traditional 'power-holders' still make final decisions. It is only at the higher rungs of the ladder that power is really redistributed. In 'partnership' (rung 6), communities can negotiate with traditional power holders, whereas in 'delegated power' and 'citizen control' (rungs 7 and 8, respectively), community members can determine most of the decision-making while assigned with full management responsibilities. Therefore, Arnstein's (1969) inception implies that an escalation from the bottom to the top can only be realised if control is moved from the few (e.g. officials/ experts) to the many (i.e. citizenry).

In a similar manner, the work of Pimbert and Pretty (1997) and Selman (2004) in the heritage field divides community participation into 'minimal participation', 'participation for material incentives', 'interactive participation', and 'self-mobilisation'. In the lowest level, 'minimal participation' describes one-way communication (i.e. experts inform the local communities on relevant issues) or mutual information-sharing and consultation, where participants provide information to professionals to help them identify local problems, yet they have no power to influence top-management decisions. The second level of 'participation for material incentives' describes community involvement through the provision of resources (e.g. labour) in return for material (usually monetary) gains. At upper levels, 'interactive participation' allows host members to be involved in the shaping of activities and enhances local control, whereas, 'self-mobilisation' connotes that local community can take on initiatives autonomously, without the help of external agents. Furthermore, the work of Atalay (2010) describes the involvement of local members as 'community-driven', aiming to address local needs, 'participatory', as locals become partners in heritage projects, and 'reciprocal' in terms of benefits and power-sharing.

In tourism, Tosun (1999) distinguishes three gradations of participation in tourism development; the 'induced', the 'coercive', and the 'spontaneous'. In 'induced' participation, the initiation and institutionalisation of participatory action lies in the authority of government agencies. 'Coercive' participation is again a top-down approach, in which

involvement is centrally manipulated. Ultimately, 'spontaneous' involvement describes the ideal form of participation, where communities act both voluntary and independently. Furthermore, general development studies, such as this of Bailey (2010), draw distinctions between 'public participation' relating to informing or consulting communities, 'community engagement', where hosts partner with decision-making bodies, and 'empowerment' where authority is transferred to participants.

In community-based research, Brodie et al. (2011) observe that participation is a voluntary process that entails some kind of action with common purpose and expected outcomes. Gianchello (2007) and Hambi (2010) argue that participation entails the taking of responsibility with authority and in collaboration with other stakeholders to achieve a common aim or resolve a community issue. Further, Skidmore et al. (2006) define the concept as the formal involvement of citizens in decision-making and governance that affect the planning and delivery of public service. In this literature, the terms community 'partnerships' and community 'collaborations' are often used interchangeably to 'empowerment' but still connote participation. Partnerships refer to the formulation of links between various parties in order to work together towards certain common objectives (Collaboration Roundtable, 2001). Community-based partnerships may range from consultative and advisory to contributory and collaborative, where resources, risks and the taking of decisions are shared across participants (Frank & Smith, 2000). It is argued that partnerships can be an effective method to address community matters and harness diverse needs and interests (CAMH, 2011). Similarly, in the tourism literature, Jamal and Getz (1995) and Selin and Chavez (1995) apply the inter-organisational collaborative theory to the planning and development of community-based tourism. In Jamal and Getz (1995, p. 188) collaboration is defined as 'a process of joint decision-making among autonomous, key stakeholders that come together to address complex tourism issues' (see also Section 3.1).

Community involvement can deploy various techniques, depending on the purpose and level of the participation sought (Halton Strategic Partnership, 2012; Heritage Lottery Fund, 2010; see Table 2.2, page 49). Traditional methods for the involvement of community stakeholders are public briefings, exhibitions, questionnaire surveys, interviews, workshops and advisory committees (Arnaboldi & Spiller, 2011; Byrd, 2007; Choi & Sirikaya, 2006; Vernon et al., 2005).

However, these techniques could prove ineffective in allowing meaningful and continuous community participation if they merely form a consultation exercise (Marzuki et al., 2012). Rather, achieving local community participation and applying sustainability objectives depends heavily on the sharing of authority (Kreps, 2011; Moser et al., 2003). However, the participation of 'outsiders', such as local residents, can be regarded as a threat by heritage and tourism professionals (Connelly, 2010). The latter means to suggest that community involvement creates difficulties for policymaking not only because it adds complexity to already complex policy areas but also because it may disrupt their legitimacy and plans (Barnes, 1999).

LEVEL	POTENTIAL METHODS
Informing	
	Leaflets, posters, public talks, community events, press releases, websites, newsletters, recruitment of ambassadors.
Consulting	
	Surveys, interviews, focus groups, community group meetings, open days, informal discussions, community panels, community appraisal.
Deciding together	
	Trustees, steering groups, working groups, advisory panels, committees, specialist advisors, citizens' juries.
Acting together	
	Team formation, regular meetings, workshops series, education, training, action planning, community indicators, choices method.
Supporting lead	
	Mentoring, professional assistance where needed.

Table 2.2 Engagement and participation methods based on grey literature (Halton Strategic Partnership, 2012; Heritage Lottery Fund, 2010; New Economics Foundation, 1998).

Thus, supporting actions between 'informing' and 'placation' is perhaps more safe and conservative (Turner & Tomer, 2013). Nevertheless, community participation, in principle, is about giving power to citizens (Chirikure et al., 2010). Timothy (1999) suggests that local community involvement has a twofold meaning; it describes participation in decision-making and/or the benefits that accrue from tourism activities. In the context of tourism, the redistribution of power among traditional 'power-holders' and local communities implies that

local residents will be able to decide, act and control tourism development actions and resources used by tourism activities (Timothy, 2007). Thus, participation requires community's equitable influence on decision-making whereas continuous participation can eventually lead to empowerment (e.g. self-directed community action) (Landorf, 2011). Therefore, community participation at the higher rungs of Arnstein's ladder (i.e. degrees of citizen power) is considered to be qualitatively different and more effective in materialising SHT benefits from destination hosts' involvement.

2.6 Community participation in heritage tourism planning: The implementation difficulties

In spite of the widespread academic consensus that communities need to participate in the planning of tourism, in practice, destination hosts are rarely assigned with the power to influence tourism decisions (Jordan et al., 2013; Su et al., 2016; Su & Wall, 2014). An increasing number of management and action plans produced in the last decades underline the need to involve communities in heritage, however, there seems to be little effort on translating their words into practice (Chirikure et al. 2010). This suggests that participatory governance is an established theoretical concept of sustainable tourism but its implementation is conspicuously difficult (Landorf, 2011). Government agents and appointed officials at most destinations are accustomed to expert-led planning and resist power sharing (Jordan et al., 2013). Similarly, in the heritage management field, discourses and practices still privilege professionals and state agencies over non-expert citizens (Deacon & Smeets, 2013; Mitchel et al., 2013). Heritage experts, who hold authority over the management of resources that shape the cultural fabric of destinations, are particularly reluctant to interact in terms of parity with non-experts in heritage matters (Waterton & Smith, 2010).

Consequently, community input approaches to museum and curatorial practice are often accused for being tokenistic or 'cosmetic' (Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008; Fouseki, 2010). Furthermore, in the tourism field, community input is confined to public consultation with limited impact on the actual shaping of action policies (Marzuki et al., 2012; Spencer, 2010). Rather, in their majority, participatory projects are minimal and passive, as communities act as recipients of expert knowledge instead of equal partners in the process (Choi & Murray, 2010; Mydland & Grahn, 2012). Thus, researchers such as Chirikure et al. (2010), Mydland

and Grahn (2012), and Svensson (2009) held that the involvement of communities in the decision-making for heritage resources still remains unfulfilled. The following paragraphs review a collection of case-studies from destinations that embarked on participatory projects in Europe and beyond. Through qualitative *ex-post* assessments (e.g. interviews with participants), the authors discuss the outcomes and limitations of community involvement as experienced in the field. Although this collection is not exhaustive, it is reflective of the current state and forms of participation that still prevail in practice.

Our first example draws from Aas et al. (2005), who examine the success of a three-year participatory project in the town of Luang Prabang in Laos. The main aim of the project was to combine heritage conservation with tourism development through stakeholder and local community participation. According to the authors' *ex-post* analysis, this aim was never achieved as involvement was marginal and limited to advisory level. This is perhaps reflected by the fact that the advisory and stakeholder groups established for running the project were exclusively formed by officials (e.g. the Mayor, the Head of Tourism etc.), signalling a vertical formal arrangement that payed lip service to the essence of a pluralist community-inclusive initiative. As the authors observe, only a community minority was involved into planning by 'supplying data, giving opinions on decisions, or decision-making' (p. 40). Based on Aas et al. (2005), the lack of success to accommodate community participation more meaningfully can be attributed to political scepticism towards a more democratic decision-making process and to local mentality (e.g. 'they felt that the local community could not contribute because it had no knowledge of the concept', p. 41).

In Malaysia, Marzuki et al. (2010) assess the outcomes of residents' participation in tourism planning at Langkawi islands. As it is documented, participatory design took the form of public exhibitions and public hearing sessions in order to allow community comments and recommendations to inform future development decisions. Again, this approach did not manage to meet its goals, as it was fragmented, tokenistic and therefore poor to deliver meaningful results. Among other weaknesses, it is reported that top-down management committed no effort to encourage involvement or provide information about the process and its potential benefits. Consequently, a major impediment was that community members lacked confidence to participate due to limited knowledge. Furthermore, the researchers

suggest that communication was rather one-way and there were signs of dogmatic behaviour on behalf of 'power-holders', as participants had narrow margins to contest decisions taken by authorities. The Malaysian case forms a characteristic example in which tourism developers translated participation as a process of 'informing' the public (Arnstein, 1969).

In Cornwall (UK), Vernon et al. (2005) describe the attempt of Caradon government district to collaborate with local tourism firms in devising a strategy for the adoption of more sustainable business practices. In particular, collaboration aimed to assess the capacity of tourism firms to adopt sustainable practices and inform an action plan for development. The involvement of tourism professionals was pursued through consultation meetings, a questionnaire survey and a series of in-depth interviews, which assigned a rather advisory role to representatives of the local tourism sector. Decisions were shaped by a steering group that consisted entirely of public sector organizations, meaning that the democratisation of decision-making was sought merely through research data instead of direct representation. As it is discussed, incorporating business agents that would objectively represent the interests of the whole private sector was particularly difficult, exemplifying some of the practical complexities of realising ideal participation. Interestingly, the lack of business involvement in the steering group led to power imbalances which in turn, limited participation (i.e. low questionnaire response rate and low attendance at consultation meetings). Thus, in this case tourism officials failed both to communicate convincingly the value of participation for informing sustainable tourism strategies and to encourage a true multi-stakeholder dialogue on equal terms. As the researchers conclude, engaging the private sector effectively in collaborative projects remains a key challenge.

Further, Bramwell and Sharman (1999) assess multi-stakeholder collaboration in the development of a visitor management plan for Hope Valley National Park in the Peak District of British Midlands. Collaboration in this context took place primarily through the formulation of a multi-stakeholder working group that worked closely with an expert consultancy team for guiding proposals. Although the whole approach was quite successful, the authors admit that on certain aspects the process failed to become inclusionary. In particular, its flaws were located in the 'when, how and to what extent' community was consulted. For instance, there was a gap between those representing and those being represented, as the former did not

really sought the latter's views. Further, the opinion of the broader public was requested at a very late stage, when the draft plan had already been prepared and thus could not undergo major changes. In parallel, working group members felt disempowered as to the degree they could influence decisions and determine their own agenda. It is thus acknowledged that there were unequal relations between participant stakeholders, with the power weighting towards the authorities. Consequently, the plan failed to achieve broad consensus whereas some of its proposals gave rise to divisions.

In the US, Byrd (2007) describes a similar example of stakeholder participation in tourism based on Selma in North Carolina. More specifically, Byrd (2007) documents that tourism planners prepared a draft proposal for the town's development, which was then distributed to local business owners, residents and authorities. The planners collected stakeholder feedback, amended the proposal accordingly, while they also organised a stakeholder meeting, which according to the author assisted in gaining local support for tourism development. Yet, this case positions participation at the lowest rungs of Arnstein's (1969) ladder, as the experts developed a proposal autonomously and then asked to accommodate non-expert opinions based on their own judgement (i.e. citizens had no assurance that their views would alter policy decisions and no direct access to decision-making).

The last point is also eloquently illustrated by Spencer (2010), who describes the engagement of American Indian communities in informing policy action. More specifically, Spencer (2010) explains how public participation in tourism planning was enabled in the Lake Traverse Reservation of the Sisseton–Wahpeton Oyate in North and South Dakota through a workshop that employed the nominal group technique. The latter is a method that allows participants to generate and discuss development ideas and then vote the most desirable ones. Although the event itself was successful in encouraging a two-way exchange of views between the Reservation Planning Department and the user community, it was limited to a one-off exercise that failed to lead to follow-up action. As the author admits, the ideas developed in the workshop were not subsequently employed by authorities to develop relevant policy. This illuminates that informing and consultation can easily prove inadequate and ineffective approaches to realising participatory sustainable tourism.

A similar argument is also proposed by Jordan et al. (2013), who underline that the commissioning of participatory tourism projects should be accompanied by stipulations for adoption and implementation on behalf of authorities. This is because the benefits of the planning process could be short-lived (e.g. a sense of citizen empowerment) if ultimately, the shaping of tourism policy is not materialised (i.e. participatory decisions are ignored). In particular, the researchers draw their conclusions from Sitka in Alaska, where two parallel tourism planning processes took place; a citizen-led and a council-led. As they report, the citizen participatory plan sought to limit tourism growth and increase quality of life. In contrast, the council plan, produced by external consultants, was in line with local business concerns for pro-growth action. Interestingly, it is held that recommendations of both plans were problematic because of the exclusion of certain stakeholders each time. Yet, the government decided to adopt the council plan demonstrating its power over implementation. Justifiably, citizens felt their participation was pointless, and their disempowerment led to hostility towards authorities.

Finally, in Australia, Wray (2011) comparatively examines two participatory tourism planning strategies in Daylesford and Hepburn Springs (DHS) at Victoria and in Byron Shire (BS) of New South Wales. As she explains, the planning process in both regions followed a multi-loop process that began with the appointment of a steering committee. In DHS, the appointment of the committee followed a top-down approach (central and regional government), yet it comprised representatives from local tourism businesses and a member from a local community association. The committee identified destination stakeholder groups and invited them to consultation workshops that accommodated focus-group discussions on the vision and goals for local tourism. Stakeholder groups were then asked to nominate one representative for recruiting a Stakeholder Reference Group. The latter was assigned with the task to communicate plans and actions to those represented throughout the process. A citizen jury mechanism was also adopted, enabling the random selection of citizens to express the views of the broader public. Data collected through stakeholder engagement (i.e. tourism vision and issues) was employed by a consultation report produced by experts. In order to provide feedback, the consultation report was distributed to the committee and the stakeholder group. Another workshop was held where the two parties collaborated to address proposals jointly. In turn, a draft version of the strategic plan along with a report of

how stakeholder feedback was employed were produced for transparency. The committee, stakeholder group and the citizen jury were invited to review the draft plan, before preparing the final version. The DHS council adopted the plan immediately after the end of the process and according to Wray (2011) it had wide community support. State and local government officials acted in this case as enablers, and were willing to work collaboratively.

In SB, tourism planning followed a quasi-similar step approach, yet its authorities acted more as providers than as enablers of the planning process. In particular, Wray (2011) witnesses that the SB committee was not as pluralist as the DHS committee but rather council-centric. The consultation workshop was held between researchers and the committee whereas business and citizen stakeholders were not invited. Rather, two public meetings were scheduled but the final plan was amended internally by the local government and some of its proposals contradicted the views of researchers and stakeholders. The final plan was adopted a year after the planning process and by this time, some stakeholders had withdrawn, thus losing momentum for further collaborations. As the author conclude, the SB plan lacked the support of the DHS plan because it had alienated community interests and caused mistrust for the council. This illustrates that apart from a proper participatory framework and engagement techniques, the elimination of power inequalities is fundamental to the success of community-inclusive tourism planning.

Overall, our review of the literature illuminates that albeit the philosophical grounds of community involvement in sustainable tourism are widely supported as a desirable ideal and participatory destination planning has attracted much research attention, heritage tourism practice has been slow to apply effective participatory techniques at destination level that move beyond consultation at the higher rungs of citizen power. Despite increasing recommendations for stakeholder and local community participation and empowerment in sustainable tourism development, there is still no clear answer as to whether and how this can be best achieved (Reid et al., 2004; Okazaki, 2008; Salazar, 2012; Waligo et al., 2013). There are also concerns that policymakers have limited resources to assist them in operationalizing the concept (Currie et al., 2009). For instance, there is still limited knowledge of the factors that drive participation (Ashley et al., 2015) whereas the assumption that community members would be keen to engage in complex and protracted policy issues – a

parameter that is often ignored in participatory narrations - can quickly refuted in reality (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004). Therefore, research in pluralist planning is not merely assigned with the task to convince current power-holders to share their control with non-expert citizens. Rather it needs to explore both sides of participatory interactions. In this light, it will be valuable to gain a better understanding of the incentives of community members to be involved (Fan, 2013; Perkin, 2010).

2.7 Concluding remarks on the theory and practice of participatory planning

The purpose of this chapter was to review existing studies in heritage tourism, sustainable development and community participation. The chapter began by defining heritage and heritage tourism and by underlining some of the potential benefits and costs for destinations that provide this special-interest tourism activity. It then continued to discuss sustainable tourism and its parental paradigm, sustainable development, in order to locate its principles in the context of sustainable heritage tourism. Based on scholarly discourses, it was opined that in order to be sustainable, heritage tourism development needs to build upon multi-stakeholder collaborations, synergies between tourism and heritage professionals, and local community involvement.

As it was discussed extensively, the literature supports that community participation in heritage tourism planning can help minimising economic inequalities, gaining legitimacy and safeguarding the viability of heritage resources and values during tourism growth. However, enabling participation in the real-world can be particularly complex and challenging, given the presence and interactions among heterogeneous community groups, conflicting interests and power relations along with the practical impediments of accommodating such involvement, including required time and money resources (see Section 2.6). Thus, although there is extensive work on the conceptual foundations of community participation, practical evidence of community involvement that scales up to the highest rungs of Arnstein's (1969) ladder is rather limited. In fact, existing case-studies revealed that community participation remains mostly limited to informing and consultation (e.g. Aas et al., 2005; Byrd, 2007; Marzuki et al., 2012; Spencer, 2010; Vernon et al., 2005), whereas more meaningful participatory procedures are still experimental and imperfect (e.g. Jordan et al. 2013; Wray, 2011). Thus,

the enigma of community participation in the planning of sustainable heritage tourism remains unanswered. Although quite often community members are invited to hear and to be heard (e.g. through surveys, focus groups, etc.), they rarely influence decision-making drastically. This 'minimal' participation, i.e. informing, consultation, placation based on Arnstein's (1969) taxonomy, implies that the meaningful involvement and empowerment of communities in heritage tourism planning remains largely unfulfilled.

Furthermore, academic discourses in participatory tourism focus mainly on *ex-post* valuations of community-inclusive projects to inform policy. On the one hand, dependency on real-world applications which are *de facto* few leads to an imbalance between theoretical and empirical work on the subject while on the other creates a shortfall in *ex-ante* research on how community involvement possibilities can be explored in destinations with no prior participatory experiences. While this area of study remains under-explored, a proposition often put forward is that introducing participation in areas where there is no pre-history of pluralist decision-making and grassroots intervention will be unsuitable and unrealistic (Hickey & Mohan, 2004; Kohl, 2003). More crucially, it is acknowledged that a failed participatory attempt is worse than no participatory attempt and thus, public managers often avoid community involvement (Lovan et al., 2017). However, this makes non-participation a vicious circle that further inhibits participatory approaches to move from rhetoric to practice. Based on these concerns, the thesis is interested in conducting an *ex-ante* evaluation of the participatory environment in order to inform the introduction of community involvement in areas with no such civic and political culture.

Admittedly, participatory heritage tourism planning at the highest rungs of Arnstein's (1969) ladder necessitates an active citizenship and a mode of engagement in public matters with which we are mostly unfamiliar. Thus, the instigation of participation could prove a disheartening task in an emerging destination where prior governance had done little to encourage such activity. Representative government systems, prevalent in most regions of the developed world, use elected officials to introduce and monitor polices that are typically designed and applied by appointed experts. In this 'closed' system, citizen participation is mostly exercised through the periodic election of representatives. An extension of this democracy to a participatory pluralist mode of tourism governance implies the assignment of

certain previously centralised state tasks to local actors, where citizens will exercise agency and play an active role in devising and implementing a range of heritage tourism policies (Bevir, 2013; Jordan et al., 2013).

It becomes obvious that we have presently little knowledge of the effects of such transition of power and its capacity to lead to commonly-beneficial compromises and outcomes for heritage and destination as a whole. Community members, either experts or non-experts, state officials or citizens, exist against a specific social background that shapes their needs, ideals, reasoning and interrelationships. Much theoretical and empirical discussion on the subject stays disconnected from this background. Investigating how it shapes community preferences and behaviours and which of its elements drive attitudes and decisions are particularly relevant to research on whether and how participation in heritage tourism planning can take place in a particular context. Further, there is research gap in empirically exploring critical issues which deserve more scholarly attention, such as the factors that promote partnerships, the dynamics of participatory processes (e.g. deliberation, conflict), and the conditions that encourage people to endorse pro-heritage policies.

By taking into consideration these voids, the thesis sets out to investigate for the first time the community drivers to participation, the dynamics of collaboration, and the social shaping of values and interrelationships in order to inform the instigation of participatory planning in emerging heritage tourism destinations. To this end, the next chapter discusses the theories that frame our enquiry and are employed to shed more light into our research questions.

CHAPTER 3
Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a theoretical framework to guide and inform our study into the instigation of participatory heritage tourism planning. In the previous chapter, participation was defined as a process where destination hosts engage in the planning of heritage tourism activities in order to ensure that future changes serve local needs and advance sustainability. The chapter discusses the most influential theoretical approaches to participation within and beyond heritage tourism. By drawing on governance studies, political sociology and economics, it locates participatory heritage tourism planning in communitarianism and institutional communitarianism, which both advocate for active and direct community involvement. As it was implied in the previous chapters, this study is interested in conducting an *ex-ante* evaluation of key participatory dynamics with the view to inform the introduction of community involvement in emerging destinations while examining wider under-explored academic questions, such as what drives communities to participate in the first instance. To this end, the chapter combines the existing, rather descriptive analyses of heritage and tourism participation with participatory governance theories in order to construct a theoretical framework that can inform our research and analysis. In particular, three theoretical threads are brought together; the socio-economic concept of social exchange theory (Blau, 1964; Emerson, 1976; 1987), the economics framework of common-pool resources (Ostrom, 1990), and the political science approach of social interpretivism (Bevir, 2004; 2013; Bevir & Rhodes, 2001).

As it was discussed in Chapter 2, the subject of participation has attracted considerable attention in both heritage and tourism studies. However, quite surprisingly, our review of the literature illuminates that there is a vast number of studies across the heritage (e.g. Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008; Cohen-Hattab, 2013; Fan, 2014; Newig & Koontz, 2014; Perkin, 2010) and tourism (e.g. Choi & Sirikaya, 2008; Izdiak et al., 2015; Reid et al., 2004; Timothy, 1999b;

Tosun, 1999) disciplines that elaborate on the various dimensions of participation mostly descriptively, without applying any theoretical framework to their analysis.

In parallel, a strand of the general tourism literature employs frameworks inspired by the management field, which are mostly methodological in nature, to present step-by-step processes of participation. For instance, scholars such as Jamal and Getz (1995) apply Gray's (1989) collaboration theory to propose a three-stage model to collaborative tourism from problem-setting to direction-setting and implementation. Collaboration theory, which supports joint decision-making among stakeholders for problem resolution, is also adopted by several empirical papers in the field (see *inter alia* Aas et al., 2005; Araujo & Bramwell, 2002; Arnaboldi & Spiller, 2011; Vernon et al., 2005). This approach is useful but cannot by itself accommodate an exploration and analysis of the micro-level dynamics that build collaborations (Arnaboldi & Spiller, 2011). Network management theory was also transferred to participant-led tourism by researchers such as Dredge (2006) and Beaumont and Dredge (2010). The network management approach suggests that tourism and its governance revolve around the operation of complex webs of actors, which if managed effectively will lead to successful tourism governance (Chhotray & Stone, 2009). This theory is helpful but has limited capacity to reveal the causal explanations between network relationships to inform the instigation of participatory planning (ibid.).

Overall, management theories are useful for deconstructing complicated issues, such as community involvement processes, and for generating manageable sets of conditions and actions. However, the engineering of human collectivities can be much more complex and challenging at practical level, as it presupposes normative commitments that might not be in place (Bevir, 2013). For example, the model of Jamal and Getz (1995) assumes 'recognition of interdependence' amongst stakeholders, which might not apply to emerging destinations that have not yet developed their tourism operations considerably. Thus, there is great potential for informing participatory heritage tourism planning through theories that move beyond the management discipline, such as political and economic theories employed in the more general field of participatory governance. Participatory governance proposes the opening of decision-making processes, which have been traditionally dominated by top-down state structures, to more social actors (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009), and is therefore highly

relevant to our enquiry. The following paragraphs elaborate further on the theorization of participation outside the heritage and tourism fields.

3.2 Participatory governance theories

Governance is a particularly broad term, which conceptualises analyses of social organization and coordination (Bevir, 2013). It refers to processes through which the state interacts with its various stakeholders, who are impacted by government activity (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009), and to its exercise of control over the management of public resources for social and economic development (Schneider, 1999). In this light, successful governance presupposes effective interaction between the state and social actors and effective management of resources, which in turn demands for good knowledge of existing capacities, needs, and strategies to meet those needs. Given the complexity and asymmetric knowledge held across different stakeholders (Schneider, 1999), participatory governance has been proposed as an alternative approach to conventional state management; a way to accommodate a broader group of representatives and interests in policy-making that will allow for knowledge-sharing and better-informed decisions (Gaventa, 2004).

The theorisation of participatory governance was influenced greatly by the politics discipline. Liberal democratic thought, communitarian ideology, and empowerment theory of political sociology were particularly influential in producing different conceptualisations of participation (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009; see Table 3.1, page 62). Moreover, economic ideas, especially neoliberalism and institutional communitarianism, were also instrumental in participatory governance discourses (ibid.). The following lines discuss their main conceptual principles and their application to governance studies.

First, in politics and political sociology, the concept of participation is considered as old as democracy and in essence, liberal democratic ideas served its inception (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009). The theoretical premise of liberal representative democracy is that the citizenry voice their preferences through electoral politics and that policies are devised by accountable elected officials (Brown, 2003). Over the last decades, representative democracies have been practiced by the majority of states, however admittedly, in many cases they evolved into

passive and rather limited participation (Gaventa, 2004). As a response, ideas of communitarianism emerged to challenge political liberalism, advocating for direct forms of democracy and participation in decision-making over representative deliberation (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009).

Politics/political sociology	**Economics**
Liberal Democracy ▪ Participation as pluralist representative democracy (electoral participation). ▪ Emphasis on individuals as autonomous and self-determined.	Neoliberalism ▪ Participation as a means to reduce the role of the state (marketization). ▪ Emphasis on market efficiency, state inefficiency and individuals as consumers.
Communitarianism ▪ Direct democracy; participatory decision-making over representative deliberation. ▪ Emphasis on individuals as organic members of community.	Institutional communitarianism ▪ Community as agency to tackle collective action problems. ▪ Emphasis on community capacity to transform institutions through cooperation.
Empowerment ▪ Critical consciousness; agency fulfilment to challenge existing power structures. ▪ Emphasis on changing *status quo*.	

Table 3.1 Schools of political and economic thought that influenced participatory governance studies.

In the sustainable development field, the slow progress of representative democratic governance in addressing sustainability goals raised the popularity of theories of participatory deliberative democracies as alternative governance structures that promised to inform decision-making and to facilitate choices about how limited resources could be employed (Hayward, 1995). Contrary to liberalism, which emphasizes individuality and self-determination, a key element of communitarianism is that it highlights the social dimension of the person (Etzioni, 2015). It views citizens as integral parts of the community and participation as developing in its social environment (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009). Thus, contrary to the liberal portrayal of autonomous and self-determined citizens, who exercise participation on the basis of their free will, the communitarian standpoint suggests that social contexts have a formative influence on citizens' values and actions and thus, on mobilizing participatory action (Etzioni, 2015).

Furthermore, the communitarian philosophy promotes the idea of 'social capital' as social networks for building and sustaining democracy (Putnam, 1950). Social capital appears frequently in public policy and development studies (e.g. Dempsey, 2011; Mandell, 1999; Skidmore et al., 2006; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000), as well as, in heritage and tourism (e.g. Macbeth et al., 2004; Selman, 2004; Shortall, 2008). For example, Woodlock and Narayan (2000) distinguish four types of social capital; the communitarian (across local associations and civic groups), network (between stakeholders or individuals), institutional (as state-generated), and synergy capital (between community and state). The relevant literature stresses that social capital reserves can be employed to facilitate collective action and improve the social outcomes of policymaking (Mandell, 1999; Selman, 2004; Skidmore et al., 2006). Moreover, Macbeth et al. (2004) suggest that the relationship between social capital and tourism can become reciprocal, where both will increase the extent and effectiveness of each other. Nevertheless, Shortall (2008) maintains that social capital will only flourish if people are willing and capable to participate.

Along with communitarianism, the more 'radical' theory of empowerment also challenges liberal democracies for their failure to serve public interests and mobilize citizens. In particular, the theoretical tradition of empowerment proposes that democracy needs to be broadened through changes in the existing *status quo* of power, after citizens realise their agency and develop their critical consciousness through education (Freiere, 1970). In the field of governance, empowerment theory was conceptualised as empowered deliberative democracy, where empowered ordinary citizens will engage in reason-based decision-making over policy matters (Fischer, 2006; Fung & Wright, 2001). Participatory spaces are thus viewed as spaces where state and non-state actors shape decisions collaboratively to advance a more responsive governance (Fung & Wright, 2001).

It is evident that empowerment theory prescribes for redistribution of power, which as discussed in Chapter 2, complies with Arnstein's (1969) conception of 'citizen power'. However, there is a mismatch between empowerment theory of governance and discussions of empowerment in heritage and tourism studies, which have been mostly descriptive, and unengaged with in-depth political analyses of issues of power (e.g. Greer, 2010; Scheyvens, 1999; Young, 2002). For instance, Greer (2010) approaches empowerment through

community-based research that involves an interactive process of building heritage knowledge between community and experts, ignoring broader issues of political power. In tourism, Scheyvens (1999) distinguishes empowerment as economic (e.g. tourism-generated monetary gains), psychological (e.g. self-esteem), social (e.g. community cohesion), and political. The latter is solely defined as consultation and representation on decision-making bodies, which is a rather mild interpretation of power redistribution.

Participatory governance was also influenced by recent economic theory, where neoliberalism and institutional communitarianism - also referred as 'new institutionalism', shaped participatory narratives of mainstream and sustainable development (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009; see Table 3.1, page 62). Neoliberalism is built on the assumption that individuals are rational utility maximisers, meaning that they make rational choices, i.e. choices that seek to maximise their satisfaction through optimal allocation of resources, while remaining unaffected by behavioural characteristics and emotions (Simon, 1959). Consequently, neoliberalism views social and political spheres as rational market domains that promote citizens as entrepreneurs and consumers (Alchian, 1950). In this context, it considers the state as lacking in efficiency to satisfy individual needs compared to markets and advocates for policies that reduce its size to increase participation in the form of marketization and consumption (e.g. user-fees services, privatisations and outsourcing schemes; Chhotray & Stoker, 2009).

Neoliberalism is critiqued for its focus on individual action, its mechanistic approach, and most critically, for reducing the role of the state while obstructing citizen participation in governance (Ackerman, 2004; Klein, 2000). Obviously, the shrinkage of the state, which is supposed to have public interest at its heart, and its substitution by the private and voluntary sectors diametrically opposes the political ideas of participation as synergy between state and citizens (i.e. communitarianism, empowerment). Most importantly, neoliberal ideology is incompatible with participatory planning as the latter prescribes for citizen involvement in policy formulation. Therefore, it is important to explore how destination officials can create 'invited spaces' that will induce social actors to get involved into planning (Gaventa, 2004, p. 35), and where the state will enhance the role of the citizenry (Kymlicka, 1990; Macbeth et al., 2004).

In this light, the second economic theory tradition, institutional communitarianism, is much more relevant to our enquiry. Although still rooted in the rational choice model, institutional communitarianism is fundamentally different from neoliberalism as it theorises pathways of collective action outside of the market-state dichotomy (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009). More specifically, institutional communitarianism advances the idea of community as the agency for overcoming collective problems and evolving existing institutions (Ostrom, 1990). Institutions represent the structural features of social systems, such as norms and practices that regulate social interaction and impact on the behaviour of social actors (Sorensen & Torfing, 2007). Governance-wise, institutional communitarianism advocates for decentralisation and for the establishment of polycentric governance mechanisms that embrace state, private sector and community stakeholders to substitute for top-down central control over public matters (Ostrom, 2005).

Institutional communitarianism contributed to the theorisation of community-based participatory development and community-based governance with active forms of citizenship (especially in the field of environmental and natural resource management, see for example, Agrawal & Gibson, 2001; Kearney et al., 2007; Marshall, 2009). However, quite surprisingly, the idea of 'community-based tourism' was linked instead with the political theories of communitarianism and empowerment rather than with economic theory (see for instance, Okazaki, 2008; Reid, 2003; Sofield, 2003; Timothy, 2007; Wearing & McDonald, 2002). Thus, there is scope for connecting political with economic thought further in the context of heritage tourism research.

It is important to note that there are two main approaches to institutional communitarianism, which if combined together can be particularly useful for informing the instigation of participatory endeavours. The first is rational choice institutionalism (or bounded rationality), which explores collective action through the notion of rational choice individualism (Forsyth & Johnson, 2014). The second is social constructivism, which works as an 'antidote' to the rational approach by stressing the contextual and identity aspects of people's choices (Sorensen & Torfing, 2007). Political scientists, such as March & Olsen (2006), propose the two approaches as complementary to each other.

In particular, rational choice institutionalism suggests that social actors have pre-given preferences but they act within an institutional setting, which determines their options and interactions (Sorensen & Torfing, 2007). Thus, social actors' rational (utility-maximising) choices are constrained ('bounded') by the institutional environment (e.g. norms, rules) and by cognitive limitations (Grune-Yanoff, 2010). In heritage tourism planning, citizens and state officials are such social actors, each having their own interests and stakes in heritage tourism development (Fouseki & Sakka, 2013; Harrison, 2013; Mydland & Grahn, 2012; Smith, 2009). As bounded rationality goes beyond 'rational egoists' (Ostrom, 2005, p. 253), it suggests that participants can be inclined to cooperate with others, if proper communication and incentives, both intrinsic and material, are provided by institutional design (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009; Sorensen & Torting, 2007).

A second approach to institutional communitarianism, social constructivist institutionalism, is founded on interpretative sociology and political science (Trondal, 2001). Social constructivism emphasises the endogenous character of social actors' interests and beliefs (Sorensen & Torfing, 2007). It highlights that the interests, preferences and identity of individuals are shaped by the communities to which they belong and by their institutional context – rather than being pre-fixed as in rational choice institutionalism (March & Olsen, 1989; 1995). In turn, social agents act on the basis of their own community-based interpretations of institutionally defined rules and norms (Sorensen & Torfing, 2007).

As noted above, these two alternative perspectives are not exclusive but rather supplement each other (March & Olsen, 2006). From a rational actor perspective, participation can be viewed as an exchange among social actors, who have their own interests, and to whom participatory design needs to provide proper motivations for cooperation. However, based on social constructivism, these motivations develop socially and dynamically during participatory processes whereas cooperation among stakeholders is influenced by their socially-constructed beliefs and understandings of the institutional context to which they belong. The next section elaborates further on specific theoretical concepts, within communitarian institutionalism, which allow for approaching participation from a socio-economic angle.

3.3 Theoretical concepts for instigating participation: Combining economic frameworks with ideas from political sociology

As explained in the previous section, participatory governance refers to the interaction of government and non-governmental actors in collective decision-making (Gaventa, 2004). However, the question of how participation can be effectively instigated remains unanswered (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009). Rather, participatory governance is more a descriptive term rather than a proven methodology (Chhotray & Mosse, 2009; Mosse, 2000), which also applies largely to participatory heritage tourism. Nevertheless, it is suggested that the involvement of citizens and non-expert stakeholders requires careful consideration in advance to ensure the viability and quality of participatory governance (Fischer, 2006). Thus, although frameworks employed for *ex-post* evaluations of participation are useful (e.g. Jamal & Getz, 2005; Okazaki, 2008), we still need a framework for the *ex-ante* assessment of potential participation.

The theories that embrace participatory governance are highly relevant to the study of participatory heritage tourism, given their common ideological premises that prescribe for public involvement in planning decisions. However, as it was shown earlier, there is no single theory of governance since the field has been approached through various theoretical lenses. In the general governance literature, Chhotray & Stoker (2009) distinguish network management theory, delegation theories, bounded rationality and institutional theories, along with social interpretative theories, as the key theoretical pillars of building governance arrangements. Network management theory has already been discussed in the beginning of the chapter as a useful framework for participatory tourism, which nonetheless falls short in explaining causality among stakeholders' webs (see Section 3.1). Alternatively, the thesis proposes social exchange theory, a psychological and sociological approach to human relationships (Brau, 1964; Emerson 1976), as more effective in revealing intra-community negotiations and incentives, and hence more appropriate for informing the development of an 'invited' space for participation (see Section 3.3.1).

Moreover, delegation models although applicable to general governance enquiries, they are ideologically inappropriate for examining participation because they are founded on the

principal-agent theory that assumes a vertical relationship between participants[1] (the very basis of participatory heritage tourism is equality of power, see Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Choi & Murray, 2010; Mydland & Grahn, 2012; Vernon et al., 2005). Ergo, for the purposes of our study, a combination of common-pool resources theory (within bounded rationality institutionalism, see Section 3.3.2) and interpretative social science (a broader approach to social constructivist institutionalism, see Section 3.3.3) is adopted, which along with social exchange theory (as alternative to network theory) can help us approach participation in the context of heritage tourism by maintaining an economics angle and thus, linking community-based tourism to institutional communitarianism, without portraying social actors as dry *homines economici,* namely as strictly rational individuals.

3.3.1 Social exchange theory

Participatory governance theory proposes that relationships between citizens and between the state and citizens are based upon dynamic processes of exchange (Bang, 2005). These exchange situations can be linked to social exchange theory, a framework that accommodates theoretical ideas from economics, psychology and sociology (Emerson, 1976). As a conceptual framework, social exchange theory has been frequently employed in tourism studies to explore community perceptions (see *inter alia* Andereck et al., 2005; Ap, 1992; Choi & Murray, 2010; Sirikaya et al., 2002; Wang & Pfister, 2008) but has never been linked to research on participation or participatory heritage tourism.

More specifically, the social exchange approach can be described as an economic analysis of non-economic social situations (Emerson, 1976). It holds that people shape their attitudes in accordance with their subjective expected utility and engage in an exchange situation when they are driven by the relative values involved in it (Emerson, 1987). Although social exchange theory frames non-economic exchanges with economic terms (e.g. the economic concept of 'utility' is employed to connote satisfaction), it acknowledges that behaviour is determined by both economic and non-economic value domains. This implies that behaviour is affected

[1] In political science and economics, principal-agent models are used to describe the relationships between a principal (e.g. a manager) and a subordinate (e.g. an employee), where the former delegates tasks and decisions to the latter (Laffont & Martimort, 2009).

by factors - viewed as potential gains or losses, that move beyond material incentives, such as communal, emotional, and cultural (Ap, 1992; Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005; Stafford, 2008). Gains or rewards are synonymous with positive reinforcements whereas costs or losses represent aversive stimuli or rewards forgone, such as time and effort that could be spent otherwise (Emerson, 1976).

Therefore, this theory can be used to examine what governs social exchanges by anchoring in economic, social, political and cultural value domains. Interestingly, the social exchange framework recognises that decisions which involve multiple actors are dependent on prior conditions and sentiment derived through longitudinal experiences (Emerson, 1976). Thus, pre-existing community practices and interrelationships become relevant to decisions of whether or not to pursue pluralism in heritage tourism planning and whether or not to participate at a given time. Furthermore, Blau (1964) proposes that social exchanges concern relationships that encompass unspecified future obligations. Similar to economic exchanges, social exchanges create expectations of future returns for contributions, but contrary to economic exchanges, the exact nature of returns remains rather vague. Thus, it is plausible to suggest that the social exchange framework is particularly useful for instigating participatory planning, as it is likely that at early stages the returns of becoming involved are ill-defined by non-state social actors with little prior participatory experience.

Parallel to this, it is important to bear in mind that participation takes place in a social space and that those entering it will bring with them their own notions and beliefs (Fischer, 2006); an observation which also mirrors the position of social constructivist institutionalism (March & Olsen, 1989; 1995; see also Section 3.3.3). Given this set of circumstances, social exchange theory can be constructive in revealing the relationships between a particular position (e.g. willingness to participate) expressed by a social actor (e.g. a citizen) and a range of assumptions or values that may drive it (Wang & Pfister, 2008). From a social-exchange theoretical perspective, the attitudes of community towards tourism development, and by extension, towards participation in its planning, stem from their assessment of perceived benefits and costs (Andereck et al., 2005; Wang & Pfister, 2008). For example, community members may be incentivized to participate by the potential to derive economic gains, improve social circumstances or promote heritage protection. As it is proposed in heritage

studies, the social, personal, environmental and psychological rewards of sustaining heritage may at times be more important than tangible gains (Fairclough, 2001). Hence, it is critical to employ a framework, such as social exchange theory, in order to take these non-economic factors into consideration. Moreover, in the tourism field, the communal non-economic improvements of tourism (e.g. community attachment) are often found to improve support for tourism-led development significantly (Chen & Chen, 2010; Choi & Murray, 2010; Sirikaya et al., 2002). It will be thus extremely interesting to explore whether these values extend their influence to driving people's involvement in policy. Understanding what factors have the capacity to act as powerful motivators in mobilising communities to deal with policy formation is crucial for informing and negotiating citizen engagement. As Anshell and Gash (2008) underline, the voluntary nature of participation makes it 'critical to understand the incentives that stakeholders have to engage in collaborative governance and the factors that shape those incentives' (p. 552). This position also complies with communitarian institutionalism (bounded rationality tradition), which suggests that institutional design – in our case, participatory design, needs to provide proper incentives to promote cooperation among social actors (Sorensen & Torting, 2007).

3.3.2 Common-pool resources theory

As reported in environmental politics, sustainability considerations introduced the 'limited' factor to the complex equation of resource allocation whereas theories of participation emerged as alternative governance structures for sustainable development, promising to lead to better-informed decisions on how to employ scarce resources (Hayward, 1995). Similar to ecological sustainability, sustainable heritage tourism development is also framed by limited-resource circumstances, as the maintenance of tourism infrastructure and most importantly, the viability of scarce heritage elements call for exploitation within carrying capacity to protect them from degradation and undesirable change (Landorf, 2009b). Moreover, declining rural economies that may view tourism as a solution to regeneration can be challenged by fiscal constraints and limited economic capacity to invest in new facilities and in costly conservation and heritage management projects (Pacifico & Vogel, 2012).

In emerging heritage tourism destinations that wish to pursue pluralist planning, limitations across the dipole of economic-heritage resources become critical. Around the globe, there is a plethora of heritage assets (e.g. monuments, sites, artefacts) which are publicly-funded as national and world treasures. However, heritage studies underline that in today's fiscal stress, the conservation of the past is often seen as antagonistic to contemporary community needs (Aas et al., 2005; Landorf, 2009; Lowenthal, 2015; Pacifico & Vogel, 2012). It is plausible to propose that if decision-making for limited resource allocation opens-up to 'outsiders', namely to non-experts and non-state actors, public policy for heritage tourism will complicate further, because stakeholders with competing interests and priorities will acquire direct influence and power to policymaking. Heritage goods pose and receive pressures from competing economic activities and can be seen as liabilities in the eyes of alienated communities (Chirikure et al., 2010). In consequence, it is important to bear in mind that in heritage tourism, choices could express what Lowenthal (2015) defines as a clash between the benefits of the past and the benefits of the present.

In this light, economic theory on social dilemmas can be instrumental in theoretically framing community behaviour in terms of collective choices and budgetary allocation preferences. Economic-wise, heritage resources can be defined as public or quasi-public goods due to their non-excludable and non-rivalrous characteristics (Serageldin, 1999). Even in cases where access to them is restricted (e.g. listed buildings used as private residencies) or conditional (e.g. admission charges), they still retain 'utility' elements, such as aesthetic pleasure and community pride that cannot be controlled (Navrud & Ready, 2002). Notably, in the context of sustainability, it is perhaps more accurate to define heritage as a common-pool resource given that its conservation and protection call for balanced exploitation by tourism and economic activity, creating a certain level of rivalry (e.g. visitor carrying capacity). In both cases, either seen as a public or as a common-pool resource, heritage is still non-excludable and subject to externalities (see Figure 3.1, page 72).

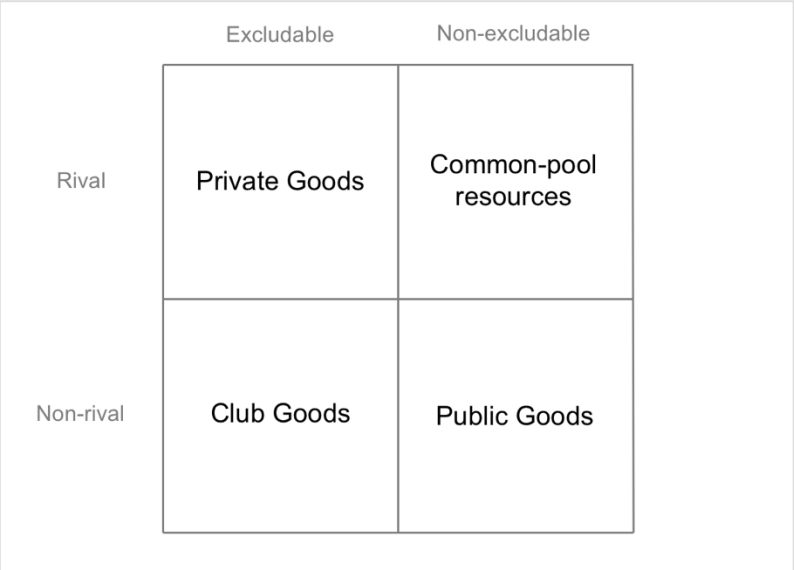

Figure 3.1 Classification of goods based on economic theory.

More specifically, a particularly problematic area in public good/common-pool resources policy is its investment-return relationship, as investment in heritage goods and its subsequent returns are not directly connected (Heal, 1999). Based on economic theory, free-riders, who do not contribute to heritage provision cannot be excluded from the benefits of collective action for heritage tourism development (Fehr & Fischbacher, 2002). Consequently, heritage resources management is caught in social dilemmas, as it is individually preferable to pursue personal interests instead of contributing to the collective provision of heritage, especially when social actors do not directly exploit heritage goods (e.g. they are not involved in tourism business) or they can consume heritage goods anyway by free-riding (Ostrom, 1990).

This implies that the introduction of tourism to the management of heritage and limited resources allocation adds to complexity not only for its impacts on heritage resources *per se* but because the benefits of local goods investments are directly ripped by non-local tourists and by tourism entrepreneurs (Watlkins & Beaver, 2008). At the same time, the desire for tourism-led economic gains leads to a dilemma between private and collective rationality, as personal gains compete with the provision of an optimal mix of community benefits (Draper, 1992). Dilemma situations are critical as the temptation to free-ride or to refuse cooperation can lead to less optimal provisions of collective benefits or even destroy heritage, leaving everyone worse-off (the so-called ‘tragedy of the commons’; Hardin, 1968). As economic

profits often dominate over socio-cultural objectives, local communities in emerging destinations may visualise the positive (material) impacts relatively easily but cannot always distinguish potential negative impacts of poorly planned tourism activities on heritage and destination as a whole (Reid et al., 2004). It is also likely that the local needs of the present may hinder the fulfilment of the needs of the future, and especially in times of economic depression opportunity costs can further influence commitment to sustainability objectives (Redclift, 2005).

Social dilemmas have attracted much interest in the social sciences, especially in economics, psychology and political science, exploring behaviour in social dilemma situations. Social dilemma concepts have also been employed in the field of environmental sustainability policy (e.g. Gifford, 2011; Osbaldiston & Sheldon, 2012; Vlek & Steg, 2007), which is very relevant to heritage policy as environmental goods are also defined as public or common-pool resources (Navrud & Ready, 2002). By contrast, in tourism and heritage studies there is a void in social-dilemma research, especially in the field of participatory planning. Yet, we maintain that a social dilemma approach is extremely relevant to participatory heritage tourism planning as its application will involve resources management, budgeting decisions, and the collective support of both government officials and non-expert destination hosts.

Accordingly, Ostrom's (1990) analysis of common-pool resources, which falls under institutional communitarian theory (see Section 3.2), can be particularly useful for exploring whether and how destination stakeholders can jointly govern and realise collective benefits from heritage tourism. In her seminal work, *Governing the commons,* Ostrom (1990) suggests that top-down management is not the only way for communities to avoid the 'tragedy of the commons', as they can also do so through collective choice arrangements. A key condition to solve social dilemmas is for participants to be willing to contribute to collective benefits and to invest their available resources in communal solutions (ibid.). For this to happen certain conditions need to apply, such as well-defined resource boundaries (i.e. access and appropriation rights), rules of provision and appropriation (e.g. required investment and capacity), structures of collective choice (i.e. participation by everyone affected in rules setting), mutual monitoring and sanctions, mechanisms for conflict resolution, and state recognition of local rights of organization (ibid, p. 90).

Although designed to address natural resources management, the common-pool resources theory can be adapted to sustainable heritage tourism. Based on Ostrom's (1990) framework, heritage can be positioned as the 'common-pool' of the destination, the state/community as 'providers' of this pool (e.g. through public financing) and the broader public, such as tourists, as its 'appropriators' (e.g. through joint use and visitation). In participatory decentralised governance, invested provisions will continue to benefit all appropriators as in top-down management, but the state will grant authority to the local community in order to collaboratively maintain heritage-based common-pool resources. Therefore, the common-pool metaphor is particularly relevant to our context, given that power-sharing in community-led planning needs to assign control to non-expert citizens over resources allocation. As Anshell and Gash (2008) underline, collaboration presupposes responsibility on behalf of community non-state stakeholders for policy formulation and outcomes.

As Ostrom (1990) analyses, there are institutional variables that influence collective decisions and commitment by individuals, which can be particularly helpful in guiding our exploration of instigating participatory planning. These include the amount of conflict that exists prior to decisions, the heterogeneity of represented interests, trust towards the administrative apparatus that will supervise the application of new policies, and the level of proximity and interaction of participants with the common-pool resource (ibid.). For instance, it is stressed that users who do not depend on a resource economically are more likely to adopt higher discount rates compared to individuals that are dependent on it for their economic returns (e.g. tourism sector employees). This implies that there may be certain stakeholders, such as local residents, who will pose barriers to the budgeting of heritage tourism development activities. Further advancing the rational choice model, Ostrom (1990) suggests that individuals' strategies are also affected by shared norms within a community. This suggests that living in a community that generally disregards or commonly places high importance on the future of heritage can directly influence choices and collective outcomes of participatory governance to achieve sustainable heritage tourism. Similarly, the author proposes that social actors tend to attribute less value to benefits that they expect to receive in the distant future compared to those expected in the immediate future (ibid.). One can see a certain parallelism between this proposition and Redclift's (2005) argument that 'discounting the future' is easier to do that valuing it above the present needs of deprived communities (p. 215).

Therefore, all human decisions in uncertain and complex environments, such as in a participatory planning forum, are subject to personal biases and norms. In this light, decision-making should not be viewed as a process of mechanical calculation but rather as subjective judgement about uncertain benefits and costs in an imperfectly informed environment. As Ostrom's (1990) theorisation of cooperative behaviour and institutions is built upon individualism/rationality assumptions, it suggests that social dilemmas can be addressed through collective action but this is conditional to the prevailing norms and personal stakes of those involved in the setting of policies. If interests, perceptions, and priorities affect the pursuit of a sustainable heritage tourism strategy under a pluralist governance, proper institutional arrangements will be required for success, given that participation will inherently feature asymmetries in terms of knowledge and intensity of heritage interest (Fung & Wright, 2003). Based on Ostrom's (1990) theory, it is thus necessary to explore institutions, defined as collective decisions and behaviour that will regulate future action for heritage tourism development.

3.3.3 Social interpretivism

Although bounded-rationality institutionalism acknowledges that institution-based situational factors affect how people respond to social dilemmas, constructivist institutionalism moves further to suggest that people are variously predisposed to respond to dilemmas due to their different utility functions (Osbaldiston & Sheldon, 2012). More specifically, rational choice institutionalism holds that institutional factors influence behaviour by affecting the context in which individuals make their choices in order to pursue their preferences (Lowndes, 2010). Rather, constructivist institutionalism emphasises the role of individuals' identities as endogenous to democratic governance, where social actors make their personal interpretations of institutions, namely of procedures, structures and norms (March & Olsen, 1995). Constructivist institutionalism is therefore interested in how institutions shape behaviour through structures of meaning, i.e. the ideas and discourses that explain and legitimise political and social action (Lowndes, 2010).

Similar to this standpoint, social interpretive theory suggests that social and political communication is far from straightforward and is rather the greatest challenge of governance

(Chhotray & Stoker, 2009). Its main theoretical premise is that social actors understand the world in different ways (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009). From this perspective, social interpretivism and social constructivism exhibit theoretical similarities, given that they both suggest that individuals act on the basis of their own interpretations as shaped and reshaped in their particular milieu. In fact, constructivist institutionalism is considered as an interpretivist approach to governance (Bevir, 2004). Interpretative research approaches are suitable for understanding the social construction processes in policymaking (Schneider & Sidney, 2009).

In social interpretivism, where constructivist institutionalism draws upon, institutions refer broadly to cultural factors and meanings that lead to actions informed by people's diverse desires and beliefs (Bevir & Rhodes, 2001). Contrary to rationality theory, social interpretivism holds that social circumstances do not merely affect actions *per se* but also define the drivers behind those actions. Subsequently, rational choice models and correlations are more effective as explanatory approaches when unpacked in terms of the beliefs and desires of the relevant actors (Bevir, 2004). For this reason, it is purposeful to combine common-pool resources with social interpretivist theory. Although mostly popular in general governance studies (Chhotray & Murray, 2009), social interpretivism as a theoretical stance is highly relevant to participatory research. This is so as scholarly work highlights that participation is influenced by community-based characteristics whereas its structure and culture might influence the degree to which community empowerment can be encouraged and pursued (Ebdon, 2000). Thus, community participation should not be treated as a technical approach to development, but rather as a transformative one (Hickey & Mohan, 2004). As it is noted, the objective of participation is the transformation of existing institutional practices, social relations and capacity problems that hinder sustainability in contested communities (ibid.).

From this perspective, Bevir's (2013) work on *A Theory of Governance* is useful for informing initial stages of participatory design. As a proponent of interpretive social science, Bevir (2013) maintains that this approach prescribes for bridging the gaps between citizenry needs and planning through public conversation and a continuous process of collaboration between citizens and administrative agencies for the definition and setting of policy. Current participatory approaches tend to homogenize communities and places, which in reality represent complex situated worlds (Hickey & Mohan, 2004). Social interpretivism stresses

that interpretations produced in these worlds are situated, meaning that they are the products of a particular social and historic background that needs to be considered in participatory design (Ron, 2016). Thus, a study of participation should draw on both bottom-up and top-down accounts of the beliefs and actions that shape local practices (Bevir, 2013).

Locating this idea to the context of participatory governance implies that social initial conditions at destinations and their 'micro-cultural politics of social space' need to be assessed (Fischer, 2006, p.24). For instance, information asymmetries between stakeholders and prior experiences of transparency and accountability on behalf of state institutions can largely shape the environment upon which participation is instigated (Anshell & Gash, 2008; Gaventa, 2004). Typically, non-state stakeholders have pre-histories with government agents and with each other, which will shape the context of decision-making by influencing behaviour (Dietz & Stern, 2008). Thus, assessing the levels of trust, conflict and social capital of destination communities is critical, as those elements can be transformed into assets or liabilities of the participatory process (Anshell & Gash, 2008). Further, a social interpretivist approach can help positioning existing levels of trust and conflict in the foreground of previous interaction among stakeholders, as these are the social products of specific conditions and circumstances that prevailed in a destination, before their expression in a collaborative setting. Such positioning will be valuable for increasing the effectiveness of participatory planning design because it will draw information from the socio-cultural background of communities.

As Bevir (2013) suggests, people's responses to governance are shaped by their beliefs and perceptions and thus, to understand their actions, we need to explore what values affect them and how they understand their location and interests. Development studies have emphasized the need to consider local knowledge and local understandings as foundations of local action (Gaventa, 2004). In addition, meanings and beliefs are not dependent on a single set but rather on a complex web of ideas and experiences (Bevir, 2013). According to Ron (2016), some beliefs stem from empirical reality and thus can be subjected to empirical examination. A reasonable argument here is that, in the heritage tourism context, a considerable part of people's norms and interpretations links directly to understandings and assessments of heritage. In view of this, the heritage values framework can be particularly

useful in revealing key sets of values and perceptions, which experts and ordinary people attach to heritage.

The values-based framework has increased its importance in heritage designation, conservation, planning and management (de la Torre, 2013; Walter, 2014). Mason (2002) defines heritage values as socially constructed meanings and as actual or potential qualities attributed to heritage resources. Due to their dynamic, place- and time-specific character, heritage values are particularly diverse and fluid. McClelland et al. (2013) provide a historic development of value typologies, yet, a single commonly-accepted and thorough account of heritage values is probably impossible (Fredheim & Khalaf, 2016). This may be due to the situated nature of people's narratives of heritage (Bevir, 2013).

Despite their subjective nature, heritage values play a central role in guiding heritage-related decisions, from the labelling of cultural assets as 'heritage' to intervention, investment, and planning for their future (Mason, 2002). In essence, the values approach provides a framework for identifying the societal benefits and rationale for financing and managing heritage (Worthing & Bond, 2007). According to interpretative social science, state and citizen value assessments can be particularly heterogeneous. Therefore, policymaking and research needs to engage with broader community heritage narratives. In fact, it has been previously highlighted that the values-based framework is particularly useful to collaborative planning (Mason, 2006). This is because it allows unravelling the personal and communal connotations assigned to heritage resources (Dillon et al., 2014). It becomes obvious that the values approach can inform policy and improve community engagement in inclusive planning by making the context of decisions more relevant to participants and by improving communication during participatory governance.

Overall, social exchange theory, common-pool resources and interpretive social science have been chosen as the most useful and novel theoretical strands for instigating participatory tourism planning. This is because they can help us take on an economic-based communitarian approach to the subject while accommodating the concepts of community as a multifaceted social organism and participation as a collective context-dependent path towards heritage

tourism management change. The next section draws from these theories to present a framework for instigating involvement in heritage tourism planning.

3.4 Building a framework for instigating involvement: A synthesis

As discussed in the beginning of the chapter, the bulk of heritage tourism studies analyse participation mostly descriptively (e.g. Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008; Cohen-Hattab, 2013; Fan, 2014; Newig & Koontz, 2014; Perkin, 2010), whereas a strand of tourism work approaches the subject through management theories (e.g. Beaumont & Dredge, 2010; Dredge, 2006; Jamal & Getz, 1995). Contrary to the previous literature, the thesis explores participation through the theoretical lenses of political and economic theory, inspired by participatory governance studies. By harnessing cross-disciplinary theoretical work in governance and the social sciences, it builds a framework to guide its investigation into how community-led action for sustainable heritage tourism development can be set in motion at emerging destinations with no such prior experience.

This framework departs from the general ideas of political and institutional communitarianism, which advocate for participatory decision-making and decentralized collective action to resolve policy issues (see Section 3.2). In particular, political communitarianism supports direct participation in decision-making, as emergent from its social context, i.e. driven by community membership and socially-formulated values (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009; Etzioni, 2015). Further, the economic-based institutional communitarianism conceives communities as agents, who can solve common problems, without top-down ruling but through cooperation and negotiation of interests (Ostrom, 1990). In this context, governance studies proposed participatory democracy, as a political arrangement that can be practiced through the establishment of decentralized multi-stakeholder fora consisting of local and regional governments, citizens and voluntary organisations (Fishkin, 2009).

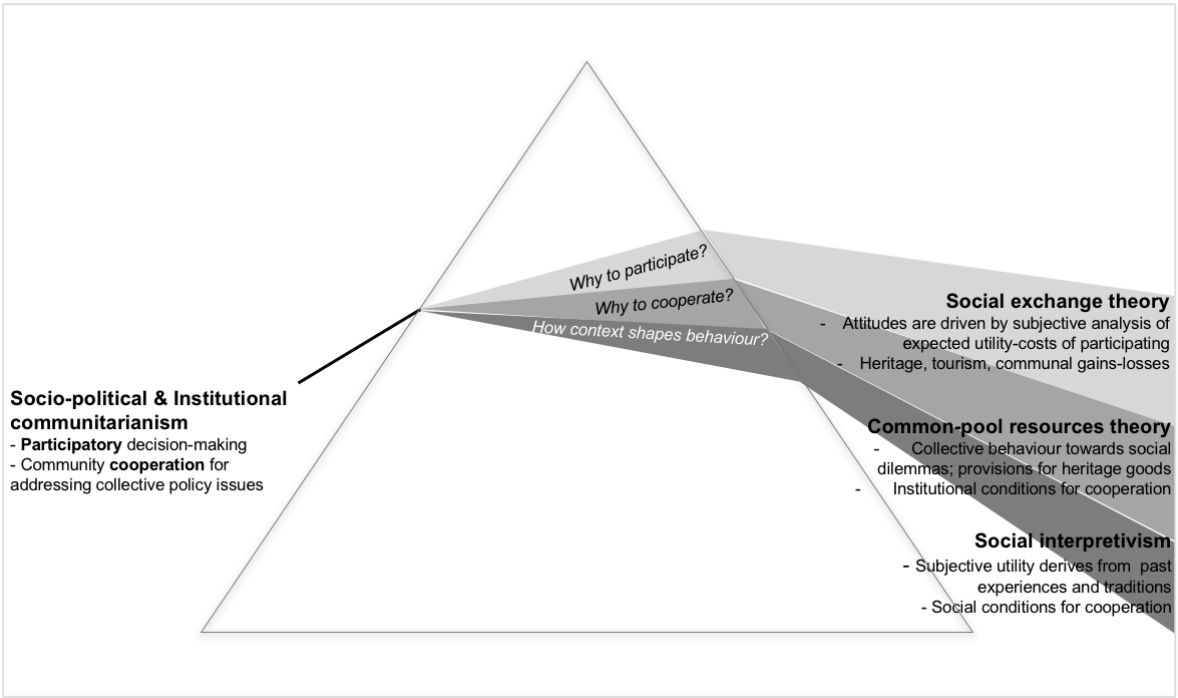

Figure 3.2 A theoretical framework for the *ex-ante* assessment of participatory environment.

Although the idea of decentralised participatory governance describes a broader stance towards sustainable development (Hayward, 1995), our definition of participatory heritage tourism planning complies largely with it, given that it supports joint decision-making between citizens/non-state stakeholders and state officials/representatives (Fan, 2013; Yung & Chan, 2011). Yet, naturally, a policy shift from top-down to pluralist community-inclusive planning is both complex and multifaceted, making it necessary to negotiate critically with questions such as why participate or why collaborate, set against the destination (i.e. social/community) background of future community-inclusive processes. As these questions have been generally neglected by the heritage tourism literature, it is important to theorise them and explore them empirically. Thus, by starting from the general theoretical premise of communitarian participation, the thesis framework applies social exchange theory, common-pool resources theory, and social interpretivism to inform its enquiry (Figure 3.2).

3.4.1 Why to participate?

As proposed in the previous paragraphs, participation can be viewed as an exchange between social actors, who will invest their time and effort in anticipation of some personal and

collective gains. Although not theorised within the economic/sociological concept of social exchange theory, heritage studies have raised the issue of anticipated gains from community involvement. For instance, Fan (2013) and Perkin (2010) argue that understanding community incentives and needs is essential for embarking on community-driven projects. Crooke (2008) further maintains that community engagement should not be regarded as an altruistic process but rather as a trade-off between benefits and costs. Therefore, it is critical to explore expectations for participatory results (i.e. utility and costs), against the balance of energy and resources devoted to the process in order to inform community engagement policy and the design of invited spaces for collaboration (Gaventa, 2004).

Indicatively, researchers such as Watkins and Beaver (2008) have raised the question of 'why should local groups choose to participate in heritage tourism?', suggesting that 'the primary advantage' seems to be the economic benefits that can be derived from tourism income sources (p. 26). Therefore, it is plausible to argue that willingness to participate in heritage tourism planning – especially, by community members who have no direct economic stakes in tourism – should not be taken for granted. Especially in emerging destinations, one should not be much surprised if local communities have no intrinsic knowledge of potential tourism impacts and their level of influence (Reid et al., 2004). However, securing the broad-based participation of ordinary citizens, who may have little desire to engage in public policy, is vital for successful collaboration and the application of devised policies (Theiss-Morse & Hibbings, 2005). Hence, potential limitations stemming from negativity, apathy, low awareness, lack of incentive or unwillingness to change shall not be underestimated (Castellanos-Verdugo et al., 2012; Ioannides, 2001; Ladkin & Bertramini, 2002; Tosun 2000).

As discussed in Section 3.3.1, the use of social exchange theory to frame participation allow us to anchor in economic tourism-led values, and in community-based social and cultural value domains. Further, both social exchange theory and social interpretivism are aligned with the view that perceptions and expectations of utility are subjective and stem from past experiences (Bevir, 2013; Emerson, 1976). Thus, an early exploration of intentions to participate is meaningful for identifying potential drivers and barriers to community-inclusive planning, while reflecting on the social context where these are produced. The latter is critical as the social dimension of participation is a fundamental communitarian principle,

emphasising its formulating power over community members' values and actions (Etzioni, 2015).

3.4.2 Why to cooperate?

At Arnstein's (1969) 'citizen power' rungs, capital investment decisions become a central part of collaborative planning procedures for sustainable heritage tourism (Hayward, 1995; Jordan et al., 2013; Pacifico & Vogel, 2012). Due to the narrow application of participatory planning, there is still scarce evidence of how diverse interests are negotiated by the multiple stakeholders that depend either directly or indirectly on heritage resources. Collective action for heritage tourism policy-making may or may not be effective, depending on participants' choices and the institutional arrangements of participation (Ostrom, 1990). As underlined in heritage studies, it is vital to explore how the local community understands and responds to strategies proposed by top-down management and how their reception might affect outcomes (Hughes et al., 2016).

Theorising participation in the context of social dilemmas and defining heritage tourism resources as public or common-pool resources (on the premise of public-funding, balanced exploitation, non-excludability principles; see Section 3.3.2) is extremely useful for exploring collective behaviour. The rationale behind this approach is two-fold; firstly, the possibility that community involvement will witness a 'tragedy of the commons', expressed as depletion or degradation of heritage resources, cannot be *a priori* rejected (Hardin, 1968). For instance, stakeholders may push for the prioritisation of other communal causes over the safeguarding and promotion of cultural heritage, due to fiscal/economic pressures (Chirikure et al., 2010; Lowenthal, 2015). Secondly, collective behaviour towards social dilemmas involving heritage goods can be instrumental in revealing the dynamics of cooperation. For instance, levels of trust, shared or clashed values, and dissimilarity of dependence may influence individual and collective responses towards policy decisions (Ostrom, 1990). In economic theory, these responses reflect social preferences, expressed as cooperative or retaliatory behaviour, which arises when people expect future gains from their actions (Fehr & Fischbacher, 2002). The opposite expression is non-cooperation, happening when stakeholders choose to pursue their goals unilaterality through alternative action (Anshell & Gash, 2008).

Overall, we argue that the examination of interactions amongst local actors and the shaping of these interactions by a given institutional environment is key to understanding cooperation. In turn, such understanding is vital for building a participatory environment that will provide proper incentives to encourage sustainable and mutually-beneficial compromises by community members (Ostrom, 1990; Sorensen & Torting, 2007).

3.4.3 How context shapes behaviour?

As analysed in the previous lines, political communitarianism suggests that participation emerges from community membership (Etzioni, 2015). Further, new institutional social constructivism maintains that cooperation among community groups is influenced by socially situational variables, such as the pre-history of relationships amongst participants (Lowndes, 2010). In this light, social interpretivism can be useful for expanding our interpretation of community drivers to participate, given that subjective evaluations of utility stem from past experiences, cultural norms and socially-defined perceptions. Moreover, a social interpretivist perspective is valuable for increasing our understanding of the factors that encourage cooperation, as it focuses attention beyond institutional factors to the social context-specific conditions of collective action. These context-specific elements are reflected in Bevir's (2013) 'traditions', as the complex of beliefs and experiences that compose the background of people's decisions and behaviour. As Bevir (2013) suggests, the concept of tradition 'captures the impact of the historical background on individuals, their actions, and the practices to which their actions give rise' (p. 5).

Likewise, heritage studies highlight the need to evaluate relationships between different stakeholders and the ways through which each party's appropriation of heritage resources may affect other parties (Hughes et al., 2016). In collaborative governance, it is further stressed that power, resource, and knowledge imbalances play an important role in shaping the participatory environment as they can influence both the incentives and interests of the social actors that wish to embark in heritage tourism planning (Anshell & Gash, 2008). Moreover, community-based work advocates for the exploration of community strengths, resources, history, culture, locally-important issues and prior partnerships before initiating

collaborations (Giachello, 2007; Table 3.2). Thus, social interpretivism embraces and theorises relevant work in the field.

Approaching and involving community:
• Get to know the community (strengths, resources, people, history, culture, leaders) • Identify stakeholders with the help of community gatekeepers and key informants • Meet with community stakeholders and possible partners • Identify expectations • Find common aspirations and values • Form a small partnership planning group to help taking the first steps

Table 3.2 Guidelines for community participation based on Gianchello (2007).

Furthermore, social interpretivism suggests that community members are situated agents, meaning that their actions are shaped by their understandings of a situation and the cultural meanings and values that they assign to it (Bevir, 2013; Ron, 2016). Similar positions can be found in heritage studies. For instance, it is maintained that the collaborative process should start by gaining a good understanding of what different stakeholders conceive as 'heritage' and how they interact with it (Davis et al., 2010). Interpreting what can be termed as heritage and what may be consciously or unconsciously perceived as such by destination hosts will also be important for making planning relevant to and communicating with non-expert actors. In the field of critical heritage studies, scholars such as Hall (1997) held that 'utility' derived from heritage resources can be diverse and people's associations with heritage sites, objects and practices are of interest as it is them how signify and give meanings to resources of the past. This implies that the social exchange of participating needs to be informed by community narratives of heritage and heritage value.

According to the literature, the management of heritage does not merely concern the physical elements of the past but also the people and ideas that live around them (Turner & Tomer, 2013). As Smith (2009) stresses, community members are likely to view heritage in different ways; as a resource of public interest or monetary gain, as a fragile asset that needs protection or as the subject of expert research. In this light, 'official' value assessments made by the state

may not fully comply with heritage discourses across the local-community milieu whereas motivations for preserving heritage may be different between communities and authorities/professionals (Harrison, 2013; Mydland & Grahn, 2012). Previous studies witness that most commonly non-expert communities invest heritage with social, symbolic and identity traits, historic associations and a sense of connection to place (Fouseki & Sakka, 2013; Mydland & Grahn, 2012; Smith, 2009). However, since values are destination-specific and continually renegotiated, we hold that participatory processes can become an instrument to recognize and promote their diversity. This will also help enriching the intellectual drive of participatory projects, which normally rests exclusively with researchers and specialists (Aigner, 2016; Chirikure et al., 2010).

CHAPTER 4
Research philosophy and methodological design

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the methodological approach of the study, provide details of its data collection strategy and explain the procedures employed for data analysis. In particular, the following paragraphs provide a description of the ontological, epistemological and methodological directions that shaped our enquiry into community participation for heritage tourism planning, followed by a thorough account of our fieldwork techniques and steps for collecting and analysing a mixture of qualitative and quantitative empirical evidence to inform our research questions.

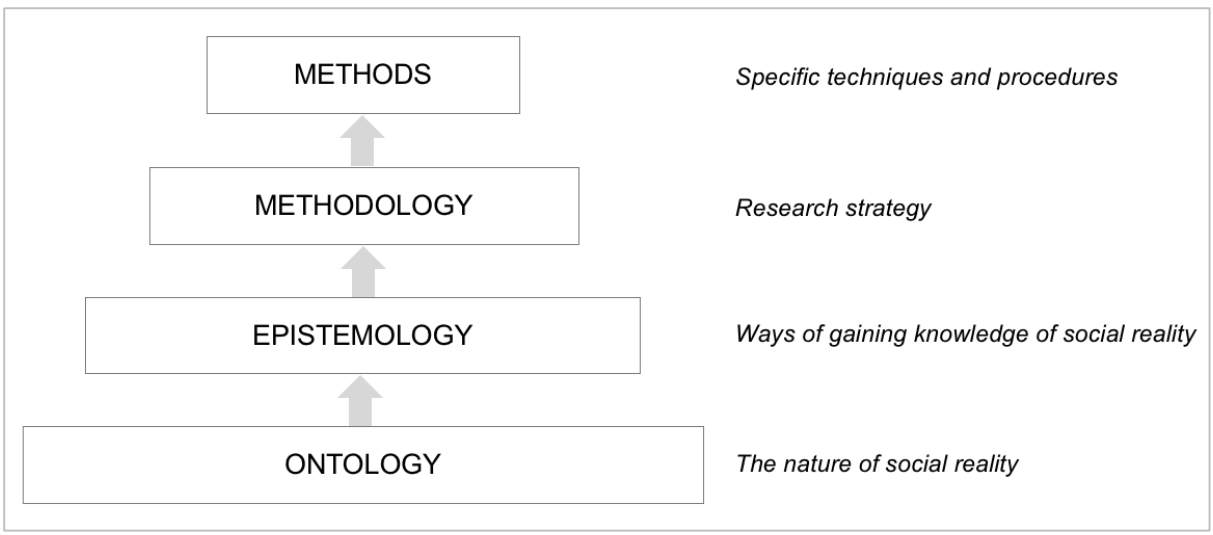

Figure 4.1 The building blogs of research according to Grix (2002).

According to Grix (2002), all scientific research starts with ontology, upon which epistemological and methodological positions are founded (Figure 4.1). Ontology deals with questions of social reality and the nature of what is investigated. There are two main ontological positions; objectivism and constructionism. The former holds that social phenomena exists independently of social actors whereas the latter suggests that social phenomena are dynamically shaped by them (Bryman, 2012). In this light, heritage can be

seen as a repository of pre-existing values which individuals learn and adopt, but can exist in their own objective reality. At the same time, heritage can be regarded as an emergent reality and a product of social interaction that is constantly invented, negotiated or forgotten by the people that perform it.

This thesis proposes an interpretation which lies between the two extremes. In this, heritage and by extension, social phenomena that surround it, are viewed as the outcomes of social action in both the present and the past, meaning that it has a reality that antedates and persists but at the same time, it is continually reconstructed. It follows that this social reality is fluid and that researchers can only present a specific version of it, which is subjective and not definitive.

Building upon the various ontological positions, epistemological considerations deal with theories of knowledge or in other words, the ways through which knowledge can be acquired with regards to what is assumed to exist (Grix, 2002). Three main traditions are identified and discussed here; positivism, interpretivism and pragmatism, the key principles of which are analysed and compared. As it is explained in the sections that follow, philosophically, the thesis adopts the pragmatic approach, which combines elements of both positivism and interpretivism and makes use of mixed research methods (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

4.2 Pragmatism: Bridging the dichotomy between Positivism and Interpretivism

Research philosophies revolve around the ways through which researchers can gain knowledge of whatever they assume as social reality, i.e. their ontological position (Grix, 2002). Based on this premise, it is plausible to suggest that an objectivist world can be better addressed by positivists. This is because positivism assumes that researchers do not in any way affect the true nature of the world. Rather, scientific enquiry is treated as an objective process, where context-free generalisations that posit social phenomena are generated by emotionally detached and unbiased researchers (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). In the context of social research, positivism seeks to describe and explain the behaviour of social actors (e.g. *how people respond* to particular circumstances). In contrast, interpretivism, the opposing epistemological approach of positivism, is not interested in providing a causal

explanation of social behaviour but in understanding it (e.g. *why people respond in such ways* when particular circumstances apply) (Bryman, 2012). Thus, the positivist philosophy is rejected by constructivists and interpretivists, who postulate the existence of multiple subjective realities, and tentative knowledge produced in specific times and places by non-neutral observers.

Again, our stance rests within the two approaches, as both describing the behaviour of social actors and revealing the reasons why these might behave in certain ways are important for drawing theoretical and practical implications for participatory planning. For instance, it is equally interesting to identify the circumstances that make community more responsive to participation as it is to understand why these circumstances have such an influence.

Moving to theory, as the reasoning behind research, it is maintained that this can be approached either deductively or inductively (Bryman, 2012). Nonetheless, a methodological approach is closely depended on ontological and epistemological assumptions. Deductive processes embark on various theoretical thoughts on a particular topic (e.g. community participation), and use them to formulate certain hypotheses that can be tested empirically or experimentally. Alternatively, inductive processes follow the opposite route, starting from the collection of data, which are used to formulate or inform theories. As Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004) suggest, positivists normally employ quantitative research whereas interpretivists generally use qualitative methods. Quantitative research is based on deduction, hypothesis testing, statistical analysis and explanation. On the contrary, qualitative enquiries employ induction, exploration, qualitative in-depth analysis of people's personal experiences and cross-case comparative analysis. Qualitative researchers may generate explanations about a social phenomenon through a grounded theory framework, where theoretical ideas emerge out of data (in contrast to empirical research, where data verify theory based on pre-formulated testable hypotheses; Punch, 2005).

Apart from the positivist-quantitative and interpretivist-qualitative paradigms, there is a third path of scientific enquiry which promises to bridge their divisions. Pragmatism provides a middle ground between the two approaches by considering knowledge as a combination of both reality-dependent and constructed explanations (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). This

philosophy supports the combination of multiple theories when these are useful, along with observation, experiences and experiments that can increase our understanding of social actors and realities. It follows that a key principle of pragmatism is methodological pluralism, where multiple approaches are used in different stages but complementary in answering the research questions. Pragmatists however view all answers as provisional, given that truth is constantly changing.

Given that the ontological position of the study rests between positivism and interpretivism, its epistemological philosophy follows the paradigm of pragmatism. The impacts of heritage on society along with the social and political ramifications of community participation render it most appropriate to adopt a pluralist-methods approach in order to gain new knowledge on this complex research topic.

4.3 Mixed methods research strategy

The focus of participatory work rests on the local level, and on local interests and capacities (Vincent, 2004). Thus, participation has been mostly explored at destination level through case-study analyses (e.g. Aas et al., 2005; Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Byrd, 2007; Jordan et al., 2015; Spencer, 2010; Wray, 2011). Following the case-study design the thesis engages in a detailed and intensive analysis of a single case (Kastoria, Greece) and its community (Bryman, 2012; see Chapter 5 for a detailed presentation of the case-study). According to Flyvbjerg (2006), the single in-depth case study approach is appropriate when exploring complex human affairs given that all knowledge and experience on societal issues is context-specific. As explained in Chapter 5, the case study of Kastoria, an emerging destination with symptoms of lack of heritage and economic viability, is an exemplifying case which provides a suitable context for answering our research questions, by capturing its circumstances and conditions (Yin, 2009).

Moving beyond the quantitative versus qualitative dichotomies, the mixed methods paradigm can benefit from the strengths and lessen the weaknesses of both approaches, as multiple data, collected through different tools, can be used complementary (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). As illustrated graphically in Figure 4.2 (page 90), the thesis follows three

different stages of data collection; one purely qualitative, one purely quantitative and one experimental, where qualitative information was collated with quantitative evidence. Overall, convergence and corroboration of findings allow us to draw stronger conclusions that can inform theory and practice.

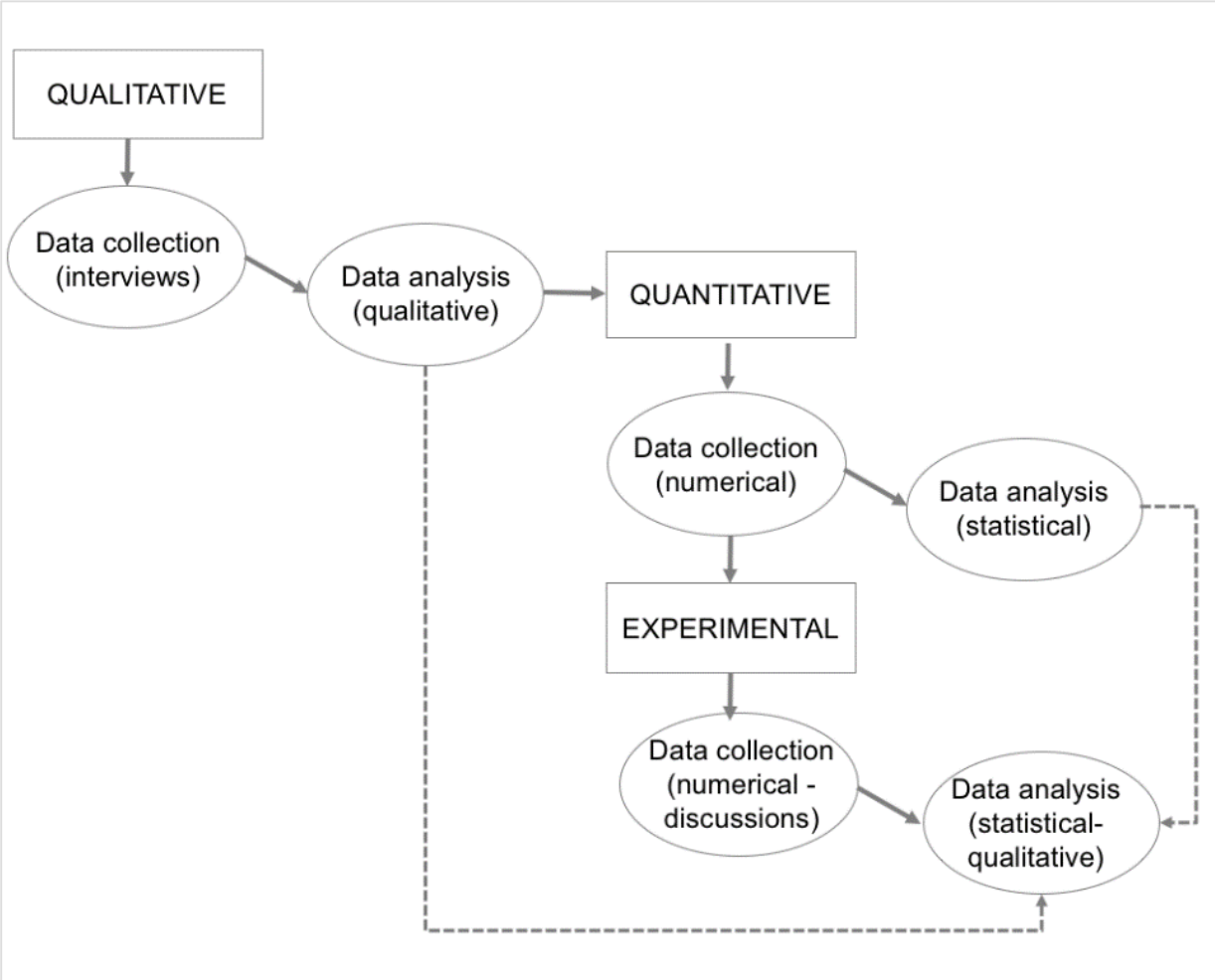

Figure 4.2 Mixed methods research approach followed by the study.

In particular, fieldwork research at Kastoria began with conversational semi-structured interviews with the local community (see Section 4.4). These followed an inductive approach that aimed to gain an insight into stakeholders' perceptions of local heritage and tourism in order to assess the current state of heritage management and tourism development in the area, while exploring the relationships amongst different stakeholders. As suggested in the literature, interviews are appropriate tools for eliciting respondents' perceptions and meanings (Punch, 2005; Silverman, 2005). Indeed, interview data were particularly useful in

providing general anecdotal information about our case-study (see Chapter 5) and in revealing community sentiment regarding local heritage, major local issues and stakeholder relationships (see Chapter 6). Most importantly, the semi-structured format of the interviews helped interviewees to provide narrative responses, which were collected and analysed prior to the design of the questionnaire survey. The use of semi-structured as compared to structured interviews was chosen as a means for dealing with the problem of meaning, as it was likely for respondents to define complex terms such as 'heritage' and 'participation' rather differently (Bryman, 2012). According to social interpretivism, meanings can be worked and created interactively during a less standardised interviewing process (Kvale, 2007). At the same time, the relatively unstructured character of our interviews provided flexibility in capturing research participants' views while still addressing specific issues (e.g. in contrast to an unstructured interview approach).

The second stage of fieldwork was based on a large-scale attitudinal survey that followed a more positivist/deductive approach (see Section 4.5). Attitudinal survey instruments are used to examine the range of possible attitudinal positions on specific issues and unveil the relationships between different viewpoints (Fink, 2003; Schuman & Presser, 1996). As we identified that there is limited information on the factors that motivate or demotivate people's intentions to participate, we employed a survey tool in order to test a series of hypotheses that flew from knowledge available at the time of the study. In accordance with the principles of pragmatism, we hold that the combination of interviews and questionnaires minimized the small sample-size and personal biases of the former through the high representativeness and quantitative predictions of the latter. In parallel, behavioural patterns and in-depth personal accounts elicited through the interviews shed additional light to our statistical results. A detailed analysis of our identified drivers to participate can be found in Chapter 7.

Finally, the last stage of our research combined quantitative with qualitative data in order to test experimentally specific hypotheses that can inform our knowledge of community-inclusive planning (positivist approach) while exploring the micro-dynamics of collaborative decision-making (interpretivist approach) (see Section 4.6). The use of economic experiments for examining social behaviour and exploring policy issues is well-established (Croson, 2003;

Exadaktylos et al., 2013). In particular, experimental research assigns human subjects to various conditions (i.e. treatments) and compares their behaviour against control or other treatments (Druckman et al., 2011). Thus, we designed an experiment with the view to observe behaviour and test collaboration across different structures of heritage tourism decision-making. To do so, the experimental sessions employed three tools of data gathering: a short questionnaire survey, a voluntary contributions mechanism, and the recording of group discussions. The questionnaire survey sought to elicit subjects' individual preferences that could be contradicted or remain masked during the experiment. Eliciting these preferences was particularly useful for measuring disparity between respondents of the same group in order to observe how this might influence group performance. At the same time, the voluntary contributions mechanism aimed to investigate participants' behaviour in a collective setting, in terms of investment choices and deliberation. Furthermore, recordings sought to reveal information of conflict and gain an insight into the content of deliberation (e.g. justification of choices, drivers of behaviour, negotiations) (see Chapter 8).

The following sections provide a thorough explanation of the processes of data collection and analysis at each stage.

4.4 Community discourses: Collecting and analysing qualitative data

4.4.1 Design of interviews

As Kvale (2008) suggests, interviews are uniquely powerful in capturing both factual knowledge (e.g. subjects' perspectives of the local tourism market) and meaning (e.g. interviewees' interpretation of what is heritage). In addition, semi-structured interviews allow researchers to focus on particular themes (e.g. heritage, tourism) by avoiding both a strict structure and a completely non-directional procedure (ibid.). The flexibility of shaping meanings during the interactive interview process is valuable for enabling us to collect data from stakeholders with varied histories, experiences, professional and educational backgrounds (Barriball & While, 1994). Since we are interested in community-based participatory approaches, our stakeholder mapping and subsequent pool of interviewees confined its attention on locally-based actors. Prior to interviews, desk research, fieldwork

observations and informal discussions with community members helped us to establish the scope of current and potential groups that can influence and/or can be influenced by heritage tourism development at Kastoria. Figure 4.3 graphically illustrates the main stakeholder parties identified.

Figure 4.3 Local stakeholder groups in heritage tourism development at Kastoria.

More specifically, our interview sample included 28 individuals representing the following stakeholder groups:

a. *Local citizens*, including residents of Kastoria Town and peripheral areas (i.e. towns and villages of the broader Kastoria region) along with representatives of community-based cultural associations and groups.

b. *Local government agents*, including representatives from the municipal and regional governments and state heritage officials, such as the director of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Kastoria, which is the local branch of the Ministry of Culture.

c. *Heritage tourism professionals*, including providers of tourism and tourism-supporting services (e.g. travel agents) and individuals running or working at museums and heritage sites.
d. *Academic researchers* working on local projects, such as archaeological excavations.

A detailed description of our interviewees and their profile characteristics is provided by Table 4.1.

Code	Category	Sub-group	Specification
CTZ_1	Citizens	Residents	Kastoria Town
CTZ_2	Citizens	Residents	Kastoria Town
CTZ_3	Citizens	Residents	Kastoria Town
CTZ_4	Citizens	Residents	Kastoria Town
CTZ_5	Citizens	Residents	Periphery
CTZ_6	Citizens	Residents	Periphery
CTZ_7	Citizens	Residents	Periphery
CTZ_8	Citizens	Residents	Periphery
CTZ_9	Citizens	Residents	Periphery
CTZ_10	Citizens	Residents	Periphery
CTZ_11	Citizens	Community Associations	Association, Member
CTZ_12	Citizens	Community Associations	Association, Member
GVRM_1	Local governance	City Councils	Vice-Mayor (Culture)
GVRM_2	Local governance	City Councils	Vice-Mayor (Tourism)
GVRM_3	Local governance	Regional Authorities	Vice-governor (Kastoria)
GVRM_4	Local governance	Regional Authorities	Regional Tourism Org., President
GVRM_5	Local governance	Archaeological Service	Ephorate of Antiquities, Director
TRSM_1	Industry	Heritage Professionals	Independent Museum, Director
TRSM_2	Industry	Heritage Professionals	Heritage site, Tour Guide
TRSM_3	Industry	Heritage Professionals	Independent Tour Guide
TRSM_4	Industry	Tourism Professionals	Accommodation (Historic centre)
TRSM_5	Industry	Tourism Professionals	Accommodation (Periphery)
TRSM_6	Industry	Tourism Professionals	Souvenir Shop (Kastoria)
TRSM_7	Industry	Tourism Professionals	Restaurant (Historic centre)
TRSM_8	Industry	Travel Intermediaries	Travel Agent (Kastoria)
TRSM_9	Industry	Travel Intermediaries	Travel Agent (Kastoria)
ACDM_1	Industry/Research	Universities/Academics	Archaeological excavation, Director
ACDM_2	Industry/Research	Universities/Academics	Intangible heritage, PhD researcher

Table 4.1 Interviewees' coding and group profile.

As far as our sampling strategy is concerned, citizens and heritage tourism business representatives (i.e. stakeholder groups a and c) were chosen primarily through convenience

random sampling and secondarily through snowball sampling in order to benefit from informers who were close at hand (Punch, 2005; Rea & Parker, 2014). Both genders and different age groups of adults over 18 years old were targeted as equally possible with the view to gain a comprehensive account of local issues and dynamics. Furthermore, quota sampling was used for local state representatives and academic researchers (i.e. stakeholder groups b and d), where interviewees were identified through desk research and chosen based on their role/position (Table 4.2).

Probability sampling	Non-probability sampling
Simple random *Selection probability is equal for all members of the population.*	Convenience *Selection based on availability by chance.*
Systematic *Selection of the Nth member of the population.*	Snowball *Selection follows participants' recommendations.*
Stratified random *Selection from sub-samples of the population formulated on the basis of specific characteristics (e.g. gender).*	Quota *Selection from sub-samples of the population formulated on the basis of researcher's judgment.*

Table 4.2 Common sampling methods for research (Bryman, 2012; Rea & Parker, 2014)

The interviews employed exploratory questions with the view to elicit personal statements of heritage value, interviewees' perceptions of tourism, their relationship with community and place, and their attitude towards participation. A general structure was adopted dividing discussions into three key parts; (i) interviewee profile, (ii) perceptions of heritage, and (iii) perceptions of tourism.

More specifically, interviews normally opened with questions regarding respondents' demographic information, details of their employment or role, and relationship to Kastoria. These warm-up questions also helped in the identification of interviewees' place attachment and motivations. In the second part, interviews continued with exploratory questions revolving around what interviewees identified as heritage and their description of the place (i.e. place identity). In this way, interview data allowed us to describe and reflect on the meanings that relevant themes, such as heritage, had for the community (Kvale, 2008). Photo elicitation was employed in several cases to stimulate respondents' memory and extend their

narrations, where this was considered necessary. According to Radley (2011), the use of pictures as an aid to interviewing is a well-established technique in social sciences. Overall, this part of the interviews was useful for identifying heritage values and the current state of local heritage and its management. The third part of the interviews focused on tourism and in particular, respondents' perceptions of place (i.e. destination identity), their views of heritage as a pull factor for tourism and more generally tourism impacts and potential for further development. Community attitudes towards these issues were effective in increasing our understanding of the current environment and future scope for collaborative heritage tourism planning. Indirectly, the interviews sought to reveal information about intra- and inter-stakeholder relationships and feelings for each other's role and capacity to be involved in heritage tourism planning.

Interview sample questions can be found in Appendix A. However, both structure and content were influenced by the dynamic nature of discussions. The interviews were conducted face-to-face at Kastoria in two phases. The first round of interviews took place between July and August 2013 whereas the second in April 2014. The interviews lasted on average 30-40 minutes. Each interview was recorded and subsequently transcribed. As the interviews were conducted in Greek, an English translation was also necessary.

4.4.2 Qualitative data analysis

Instead of employing pre-determined categories, inductive data analysis was performed for each interview, based on our interview structure framework but not confined by it. The most relevant data were extracted and dynamically organized into relevant subjects with the help of NVivo software (Cresswell, 2009; Bernard, 2011). In particular, by reading through interview transcripts, thematic coding grouped data into key themes, ideas, perceptions and issues, which were either directly observable or emerged indirectly as underlying assumptions (Ezzy, 2002). The choice of themes was based primarily on the frequency of a comment, especially when this was raised from different interviewees, and by the specificity of data when this entailed personal experiences (Krueger & Casey, 2009). Figure 4.4 (page 97) illustrates schematically an example of the coding process. For reasons of economy, the NVivo database is not presented in the thesis but is available upon request.

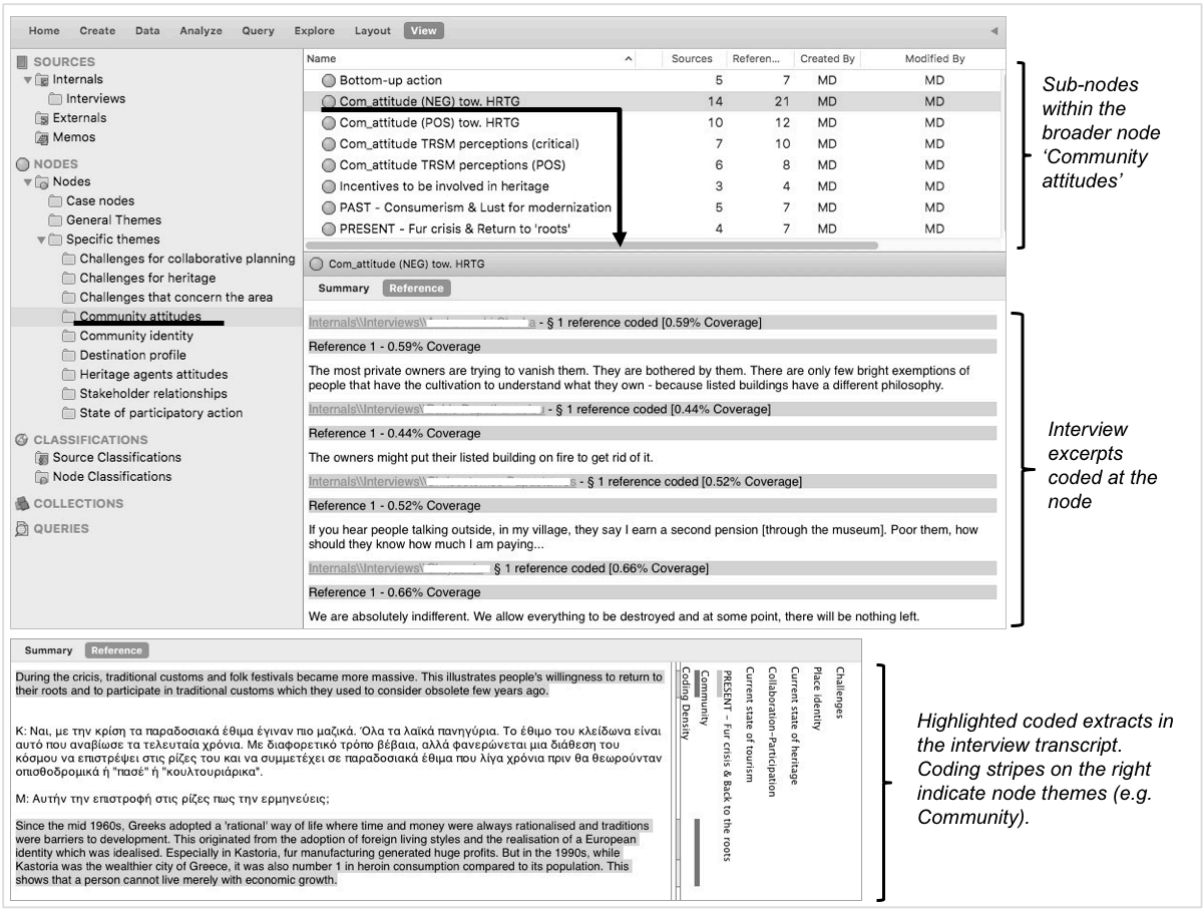

Figure 4.4 Example of interview data coding using NVivo software.

Moreover, as illustrated by Table 4.3 (page 98), data were organized into five general themes: (i) citizens' attitudes, (ii) experts' attitudes, (iii) local identity, (iv) place identity, and (v) stakeholders' relationships. In turn, these themes were divided into sub-categories that reflected their specific content. Place identity data were cross-referenced with the literature and used to inform our case study as it provided anecdotal information about the local tourism sector and market (see Chapter 5). Furthermore, data on attitudes, local community identity and stakeholders' relationships were instrumental in revealing how community engagement with heritage was shaped at the time of the study (e.g. experts' emphasis on material) and how community perceptions can play in future collaborations (e.g. citizens' view of government agents as corrupted and incompetent). A detailed analysis of these findings can be found on Chapter 6. Several excerpts from all the aforementioned themes were further converted into questionnaire statements to inform our survey design.

Themes	Sub-themes	Sources	References
Citizens' attitudes	Bottom-up action	5	7
	Consumerism & lust for modernization	5	7
	Fur crisis & return to 'roots'	4	7
	Negative attitudes towards heritage	14	21
	Positive attitudes towards heritage	10	12
	Tourism perceptions (critical views)	7	10
	Tourism perceptions (positive impacts)	6	8
Experts' attitudes	Emphasis on material	1	5
	Sense of ownership	3	7
Local identity	Identification with fur manufacturing	7	8
	Identification with the lake	4	4
	Place attachment	7	8
Place identity	Destination 'brand'	14	24
	Heritage within tourism	11	15
	Lack of planning-vision	11	16
	Length of stay	9	9
	Peripheral brand elements	9	14
	Tourism market	14	28
	Tourism structural issues	5	7
Stakeholders' relationships	Citizens' disappointment/anger	5	9
	Government corruption-opportunism	7	14
	Government incompetence	9	18
	Government indifference	5	9
	Incompetence of heritage agents	3	4
	Indifference by heritage agents	3	3
	Mistrust towards community	2	6
	Power-holder relationships	5	9
	Views on citizen participation	8	8

Table 4.3 Themes emerged through interview data analysis and their respective number of sources and references.

4.5 From small to large scale: Conducting and processing a quantitative survey

4.5.1 Survey design

Our enquiry into the drivers of community willingness to participate draws from heritage, tourism and community-based research in order to investigate a broad set of factors that are likely to influence respondents' behaviour. First, our survey study adopts the values-based paradigm, an approach of increasing importance in heritage conservation, planning and management (de la Torre, 2013; Walter, 2014). Mason (2002) describes heritage values as actual or potential socially constructed qualities ascribed to heritage assets. As he explains, the range of such qualities is particularly diverse (e.g. scientific, spiritual, aesthetic), dynamic (i.e. place and time-specific) and subjective (for a historic development of value typologies

see McClelland et al., 2013). An exploration of heritage values in conjunction with intentions for community involvement is both interesting and relevant, given that the value rationale permeates a plethora of decisions associated to heritage practice (de la Torre, 2013). Ultimately, heritage values offer a valuable framework for identifying the societal reasons for heritage investment and for informing engagement and collaborative strategies for heritage tourism planning (Mason 2006; Worthing & Bond, 2007).

A second component of our questionnaire survey enquiry investigates the relationship between community aspirations for heritage tourism development and the potential of several conditions to influence their future participation in heritage tourism planning. Based on the tourism literature and our interview data, we investigate economic (e.g. income generation), socio-cultural (e.g. development of infrastructure) and environmental (e.g. preservation/risks for heritage) factors (Simpson, 2008; Wall & Mathieson, 2012). Moreover, a third set of survey questions goes into elements that touch upon the broader social context and respondents' civic culture. Community-based participatory literature stresses that such wider place/community characteristics affect the initiation of participatory ventures (Frank & Smith, 2000; Gianchello, 2007; Brodie et al., 2011).

Our survey followed the attitudinal statement approach, which is frequently employed by tourism studies (see *inter alia* Andereck et al., 2005; Chen & Chen, 2010; Choi & Murray, 2010; Sharma & Dyer, 2009). As Oppenheim (2001) holds, attitudinal statements can be used to collect data on respondents' viewpoints, beliefs, preferences, feelings or positions towards a particular sentence. The questionnaire consisted of 51 likert-type attitudinal statements with a 7-point rating scale from totally disagree (1) to totally agree (7) (see also Appendix B). Statement items were built based on desk research and qualitative interview data similarly to Dillon et al. (2014) and Fouseki and Sakka (2013) (see indicatively Figure 4.5, page 100). In addition, the questionnaire included statements which were composed based on the relevant literature on heritage values, tourism impacts and community participation (among others, the work of Brodie et al., 2011; Mason, 2002; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Willingness to participate was measured through a binary variable that asked respondents to declare their desire to be involved in future collaborations for the planning of heritage tourism at Kastoria.

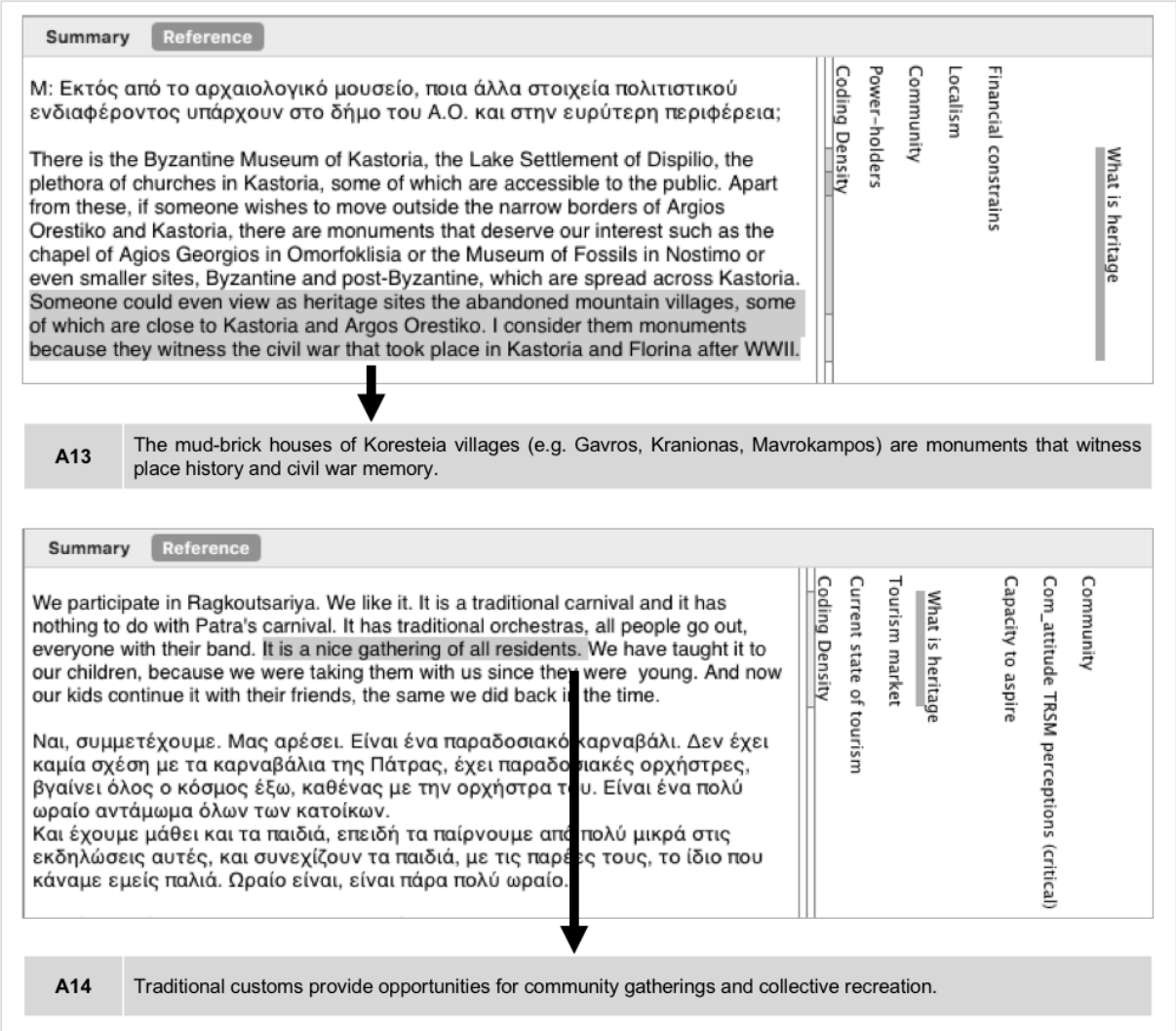

Figure 4.5 Examples were interview data informed the design of questionnaire statements.

Except of attitudinal statements, the survey featured demographic questions that sought to gain information with regards to respondents' profile and personal circumstances. More specifically, demographic details, measured as categorical variables, concerned gender, age, practical resources (e.g. employment status, household income) and learnt resources (e.g. education level, heritage/tourism-related studies), as these are believed to influence participation (Frank & Smith, 2000; Brodie et al., 2011). Moreover, we considered useful to collect personal data that could unveil one's stakes in heritage tourism development, such as professional occupation in the tourism or heritage sector and place of residence as factor of proximity to areas of high/low tourism interest (Sharma & Dyer, 2009). Finally, information regarding respondents' birthplace and years of residency at Kastoria sought to capture (sub-conscious) attachment to community whereas questions regarding membership to local

associations or other formal or informal involvement in communal causes aimed to reveal prior experience in collaborative action (Gross & Brown, 2006).

The delivery of the questionnaires took place in July and November 2015 at the region of Kastoria. The sample included anonymous respondents, who were chosen on the basis of simple random and convenience sampling (Punch, 2005). The criteria for participating in the survey were (i) being over 18 years old and (ii) associating with the place, for instance, living or working in Kastoria at the time of the study, originating from a local town/village, or frequently visiting the area due to family and friends. The total number of valid responses for statistical analysis totalled 665 entries.

4.5.2 Quantitative data analysis

Data analysis comprised various stages, starting from descriptive statistics, which provided us with an initial indication of responses. Although descriptive data were informative, we needed to go deeper into the data and explore whether and how heritage values, tourism perceptions, and community-based attitudes drove community behaviour towards participation in heritage tourism planning. To this end, we employed SPSS software, a statistical analysis social sciences programme that helped us perform a regression analysis (see Section 4.5.2.2).

In particular, we started by running a series of non-parametric tests that revealed which demographic characteristics altered intentions to participation significantly, and which sub-sample groups were more and less willing to participate in heritage tourism planning. Non-parametric tests are generally used for dichotomous variables (e.g. gender), nominal data (e.g. employment status) and ordinal data (e.g. Likert data), as such data are not normally distributed, to detect significant differences among group characteristics (Corder & Foreman, 2014). In our study, the Mann-Whitney non-parametric test was employed for comparing median values between two groups (e.g. males-females) whereas the Kruskal-Whallis non-parametric test was used to compare median values between three or more groups (e.g. based on age).

At the same time, we conducted an exploratory principal components factor analysis that reduced our fifty-one statement items into a smaller and more manageable set of variables, similarly to Dillon et al. (2014), Lwoga (2016), and Yung & Chan (2012). Orthogonal varimax rotation - the most common rotational technique (Williams et al., 2010) - was employed, so that factor structures can be uncorrelated and appropriate for regression analysis (Osborne & Costello, 2009). We measured sampling adequacy based on Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) tests, where any KMO values above 0.50 were considered acceptable (Williams et al., 2010). Further, we tested inter-correlations between statement variables by employing the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity (BTS), of which the significance ($p<.05$) confirmed the suitability of factor analysis (Williams et al., 2010). Our factor analysis extracted twelve component factors that made conceptual sense and had reasonably high coefficients (Table 4.4).

Component variables	KMO index[1]	BTS Sig. (p-value)[2]	Variance explained (%)
Heritage values	.908	.000	*54.38*
HER1: Inherent values			32.07
HER 2: Collective identity & Memory			7.89
HER 3: Emblematic & accessible			5.22
HER 4: Resistance to change			5.00
HER 5: Educational & use values			4.20
Perceptions of tourism	.842	.000	*51.50*
TOUR 1: High positive effects			31.16
TOUR 2: Low negative effects			13.20
TOUR 3: Scope for development			7.14
Community ideals	.823	.000	*59.35*
COM1: Participation values			31.31
COM2: Altruism & attachment			11.36
COM3: Collective power			8.65
COM4: Citizenry role & cohesion			8.03
Notes: [1] KMO index ranges from 0 to 1, with anything above 0.50 to be considered suitable for factor analysis. [2] BTS is significant when p<0.05			

Table 4.4 Principal component analysis results.

The following lines provide a comprehensive description of heritage value components, perceptions of tourism and community ideals.

4.5.2.1 Factor analysis

- Heritage value components

Our factor analysis extracted five components that reflected heritage values. The first factor (HER1) exposed what Harrison (2011) defines as *inherent values*, consisting of statements that reproduced the concepts of international significance, uniqueness, scientific values, and the moral intergenerational duty to preserve and bequest local heritage to future generations (see Table 4.4, page 102). These statements can be characterised as relatively 'detached' given that they are articulated in a generalized (e.g. 'the Byzantine and post-Byzantine icons of Kastoria are of unique artistic value, statement A5) and neutral way (e.g. 'it is important to protect cultural heritage so that we can bequest it to our next generations', statement A17).

In contrast, the second component variable (HER2) comprised assertions expressed through a more personal tone. In particular, HER2 statements made references to social associations with local heritage, such as witnessing place history (e.g. 'the mud brick houses in the abandoned villages of Kastoria are monuments that witness place history', statement A13). They also made emotional appeals to shared identity (e.g. 'the fur art and tradition is part of the common cultural identity of Kastorians', statement A11) and sense of community (e.g. 'traditional customs, such as Ragkoutsariya, provide opportunities for collective recreation and community gatherings', statement A14). Thus, HER2 reflected qualities that more commonly relate to *collective identity and memory*, resembling what Worthing and Bond (2007) describe as associational values.

Our third component (HER3) was labelled as *emblematic and accessible* values*,* as it was formed by statement items that on the one hand, expressed one's appreciation of key heritage landmarks (e.g. 'the most beautiful parts of Kastoria are the historic neighbourhoods of Dolcho and Apozari', statement A10), while on the other assessed one's perceptual significance of public access to such sites and monuments (e.g. 'it is important to open the Tsiatsiapa Mansion to the local community once restoration works are completed', statement A25).

Interestingly, the forth factor (HER4) included views that emphasized modernization and change (e.g. 'it is better to demolish the Ottoman barracks to erect a contemporary police station in its place', statement A26) as opposed to heritage conservation (e.g. 'the image of Kastoria would be better, if it didn't have so many old listed buildings', statement A21). For the sake of analysis and homogeneity across factors, we reversed responses' values so that responses relating to this component can communicate a feeling of *resistance to change*.

The final heritage component (HER5) was termed as *educational and use values* as its statements dealt directly to the instrumental values of education (i.e. 'it is not important to have educational activities for students and young people that relate to archaeological work at Kastoria', statement A3), and adaptive re-use for tourism purposes (i.e. 'the re-use of listed buildings and mansions as hotels and restaurants makes Kastoria more attractive to visitors', statement A22).

- Perceptions of tourism impacts

From our tourism components, the first (TOUR1) was labelled as *high positive effects*, given that it consisted of statements that expressed a supportive attitude towards heritage tourism (e.g. 'tourism development should be directly linked to cultural heritage', statement B2) and its potential for generating positive impacts on Kastoria region (e.g. 'tourism development will lead to infrastructure and services development for the local community', statement B11).

In contrast, the second component (TOUR2) was shaped by statement items that presented tourism as a threat to the sustainability of the place, causing undesirable changes to cultural heritage (e.g. 'an increase of tourists will be detrimental to the authenticity of Ragkoutsariya and other traditional customs', statement A16), and the local landscape (e.g. 'tourism development in Kastoria may lead to the degradation of its urban environment' (statement B10). For homogeneity across variables, we converted negative to positive values, so that the factor can reflect a low appreciation of potential tourism costs. For this reason, HER2 was labelled as *low negative effects.*

Further, the third tourism component (TOUR3) consisted of statements that related to tourism's *scope for development*, touching upon community expectations of its potential macro-economic effects (e.g. 'tourism development will contribute to unemployment reduction', statement B7) and Kastoria's capacity to compete with other destinations (e.g. 'Kastoria has limited potential for tourism development because it is not a seaside destination', statement B4). As with previous factors, negative statement values were reversed.

- Community-based ideals

Four factor components were extracted by the variables associated with local community and respondents' civic and political culture. The first component (COM1) was coined *participation values* as it incorporated viewpoints that subscribed to participatory processes (e.g. 'it is important that citizens participate in the protection and promotion of heritage monuments', statement A28) as beneficial for sustainable development (e.g. 'community participation would safeguard that decisions would be beneficial for all stakeholders', statement B22) either for power-holders (e.g. 'community participation in activities for the development of heritage tourism would contribute to experts' work', statement B20) or for citizens (e.g. 'community participation in the planning of heritage tourism would reinforce social ties across local community members', statement B18).

Moreover, the second factor (COM2) was named *altruism and attachment,* as it described respondents' sentiment regarding their locality (e.g. 'I personally feel deeply connected to Kastoria', statement B16), their social attitudes (e.g. 'communal interests are more important than individual interests', statement B14), and their heritage preferences (e.g. 'it does not worth to spend public money for cultural heritage since Kastoria faces bigger problems', statement A27).

The third component (COM3) was defined as *collective power* as it voiced one's 'faith' in the capacity of community partnerships to overcome conflictual interests (e.g. 'community would lead to conflict with no fertile results', statement B21) and political barriers (e.g. 'community

participation would have little impact in practice due to the political status quo', statement B23).

Finally, the forth factor (COM4) described *citizenry role & cohesion*, given that its statements evaluated respondents' views of heritage stewardship (e.g. 'local authorities are exclusively responsible for the protection and promotion of monuments', statement A19) and communal solidarity (e.g. 'I feel that Kastorians are closely tied to each other', statement B15).

A thorough list of factor components can be found in Appendix C.

4.5.2.2 Regression model

The identification and quantification of the factors that determined respondents' willingness to participate (WTP) in heritage tourism planning was made possible through the employment of the regression analysis technique. As we were interested to reveal the drivers that significantly influenced community attitudes towards participation we performed a binary logistic regression analysis where WTP was set as the dependent variable and the reduced component variables (namely, HER1-5, TOUR1-3, COM1-4) were used as its predictors. In particular, our regression model is shown on Equation (1):

$$WTP_j = a + \beta_i \boldsymbol{HER}_j + \gamma_i \boldsymbol{TOUR}_j + \delta_i \boldsymbol{COM}_j + e_j, \quad (1)$$

where, WTP_j denotes willingness to participate of respondent j, $\boldsymbol{HER}_j$, $\boldsymbol{TOUR}_j$, and $\boldsymbol{COM}_j$ are the vectors of subject's j attitudes towards heritage, tourism and community and β_i, γ_i, and δ_i are the coefficients to be estimated, and e_j denotes the error term. To verify our model stability, we first ran the regressions with a single category of component variables (namely, HER1-5, TOUR 1-3 and COM1-4) before adding them together in the equation.

Apart from the full sample analysis, we also ran the model for all demographic sub-groups that were found to exhibit considerable heterogeneity (i.e. based on gender, general education, relevant education, employment status, tourism-related employment, area of

residency, duration of stay, association membership, prior involvement to heritage promotion, prior participation to communal causes) and observed any differences accordingly. Finally, we deconstructed full sample drivers to WTP through non-parametric tests (see Section 4.5.2) in order to reveal which community sections ascribed highest value to our component variables. Our full results on the drivers of community participation can be found on Chapter 7.

4.6 Unravelling stakeholders' behaviour: Generating and interpreting experimental evidence

4.6.1 The rationale of employing an economic experiment

As explained in Chapter 3, there is a plethora of heritage resources which present characteristics (e.g. state control, public funding) and consumption elements (e.g. non-excludable) that are common to public or quasi-public goods (Navrud & Ready, 2002; Serageldin, 1999). The public good nature of heritage implies that any investment in its conservation and promotion affects positively anyone that uses or plans to use it in the future. In tourism development, investing in heritage is expected to create communal gains while being subject to externalities. For instance, tourists and the tourism industry can be seen as ripping a disproportional amount of the benefits generated.

The fact that public goods investment and public goods returns are not directly linked and thus self-evident gives rise to social dilemmas, in which selfish behaviour appears to be the best course of action (Fehr & Fischbacher, 2002; Heal, 1999; see also Section 3.3.2). To put simply, it is seemingly preferable for individuals (and potential decision-makers) to pursue their personal interests rather than contribute to a heritage good that they do not personally consume or they can consume by free-riding. Obviously, such behaviour is far from sustainable as continuous non-cooperation in the provision of heritage will eventually lead to its depletion (Ostrom, 1990). In a participatory governance setting, the prevalence of non-cooperative behaviour can ultimately lead to bad decisions that may be politically difficult to ignore (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004).

As Jordan et al. (2013) suggest, a tourism development plan requires capital investment decisions and the allocation of public revenues to specific programmes that promote it. Based on Arnstein (1969), true participation assumes citizen power and the ability of non-expert communities to negotiate with traditional 'power-holders' on how available resources are managed and allocated. As participation at the highest rungs of Arnstein's (1969) ladder is rather rare, there is limited naturally occurring evidence of the behaviour of non-expert communities and their co-operative capacity. At the same time, it is suggested that community-inclusive planning does not guarantee better decisions, as participatory approaches can be exploited by the most persuasive and powerful, who wish to promote and ratify decisions in favour of their personal interests rather than communal benefits (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004). Quite commonly, mistrust between formal stakeholders and non-expert communities demotivate the former from sharing their power with the latter (Kimbu & Ngoasong, 2013). While it is easy to advocate for community power in decision-making as a way towards more democratic decisions, it is particularly hard to convincingly argue for equally effective ones with little available data at hand.

Based on the aforementioned, we hold that social dilemmas are highly relevant to participatory heritage tourism planning. This is because the development of heritage tourism requires substantial financial (public) investment and the collective co-operation of heritage experts, government officials, and destination hosts for its long-term viability. Further, there are additional place-specific reasons that make this exploration more interesting. As analysed in Chapter 3, when dealing with economically-deprived communities that are detached from heritage management and heritage consumption, citizen choices may mirror a clash between the benefits of the past and the benefits of the present (Lowenthal, 2015), resulting in community involvement pushing towards tourism strategies that do not comply with sustainable heritage policy. Furthermore, mistrust and alienation between participant stakeholders can pose extra barriers to collaboration (see Chapter 6), given that trust and reciprocity are key factors that mobilise people's pro-social preferences (Lo et al., 2013). Thus, it is maintained that a quasi-field experimental protocol that resembles economic public good/social dilemma experiments is appropriate for informing our research questions given that social preferences are highly relevant to the decision-making process for heritage tourism planning.

4.6.2 Experimental design: Treatments and scenarios

To collect behavioural data and observe participants' interactions in a real setting, we ran a series of quasi-field experimental sessions at Kastoria that aimed to bring local stakeholders together. Previous work highlights that group-based approaches are appropriate when dealing with unfamiliar and complex questions given that a group setting facilitates information sharing and deliberation (Lienhoop & Fischer, 2009; Robinson et al., 2008). Most importantly, collective decision-making is of great interest when it comes to participatory planning, given that relevant decisions are made in the context of small groups (Kocher & Sutter, 2007). Thus, our sessions accommodated a total of 96 subjects that were organised into groups of (normally) 4 individuals, as it is most common for laboratory studies using voluntary contributions in public good games (see, for instance, Andreoni & Gee, 2012; Nikiforakis et al., 2012).

Economic experiments feature tasks with monetary payments which allow for establishing a direct link between desired and decided choices while ensuring internal validity (Zizzo, 2010). One such task is the voluntary contributions mechanism where human subjects are provided with an endowment and requested to perform a simple allocation task between an account that represents the public good and one that represents their own interests (Arifovic & Ledyard, 2012; Brandts & Fatas, 2012). Subjects' contributions to their private account are secured but they do not involve any additional returns. In contrast, contributions to the public good fund are expected to generate additional social benefits.

The voluntary contributions mechanism is a standard tool that provides an opportunity to explore participants' intrinsic incentives, as shaped by their beliefs, interests and feelings (Brandts & Schram, 2008; van Winden et al., 2008). However, given that this methodological technique is used to community participation for the first time, it was considered purposeful to verify its applicability. Thus, the experiment applied four treatments with a between-subjects design, where each human subject and group was exposed to a single treatment. Treatments 1 and 2 (thenceforth T1, T2, respectively) sought to validate our methodology with respect to the incentive compatible mechanism, whereas treatments 3 and 4 (thenceforth T3, T4, respectively) were used to test participatory against non-participatory

decision-making. All treatments were applied to 6 groups and generated 24 observations in total.

More specifically, we recruited T1 and T2 groups, consisting exclusively by local citizens. T1 groups were exposed to hypothetical pay-offs whereas T2 groups were provided with incentive-compatible monetary endowments. In contrast, T3 and T4 groups were equally incentive-compatible but had a different composition. Namely, T3 groups consisted merely of heritage experts and local administrators (i.e. appointed or elected officials at the Ephorate of Antiquities, the local city councils and the regional government). We define these groups as 'non-participatory' given that they mimic conventional structures of decision-making for heritage tourism. Rather, T4 groups were mixed as their members were both officials and citizens (normally a 2+2 combination). We describe T4 groups conventionally as participatory given that their composition reflects a more pluralist and community-inclusive heritage tourism governance.

Except for controlling group composition based on participants' capacity (i.e. officials/citizens), the recruitment of subjects and their allocation to treatment groups were random. Our call for participants was publicly advertised in mainstream local and social media and was open to everyone living or working in the area (convenience/random sampling). Invitations were also sent to relevant institutions and their representatives (quota sampling), followed by phone/email correspondence to confirm attendance.

It needs to be noted that these sampling techniques are susceptible to biases. However, in our case, a 'biased' self-selected sample is regarded as more realistic on the premise that future participation will be voluntary for citizens while it will necessitate the collaboration and input of state officials that currently hold control over the management of heritage tourism. In fact, when experiments are employed for policy testing, it is rather common to recruit participants with relevant experience and biases, because this contributes to external validity (Dyer & Kagel, 1996).

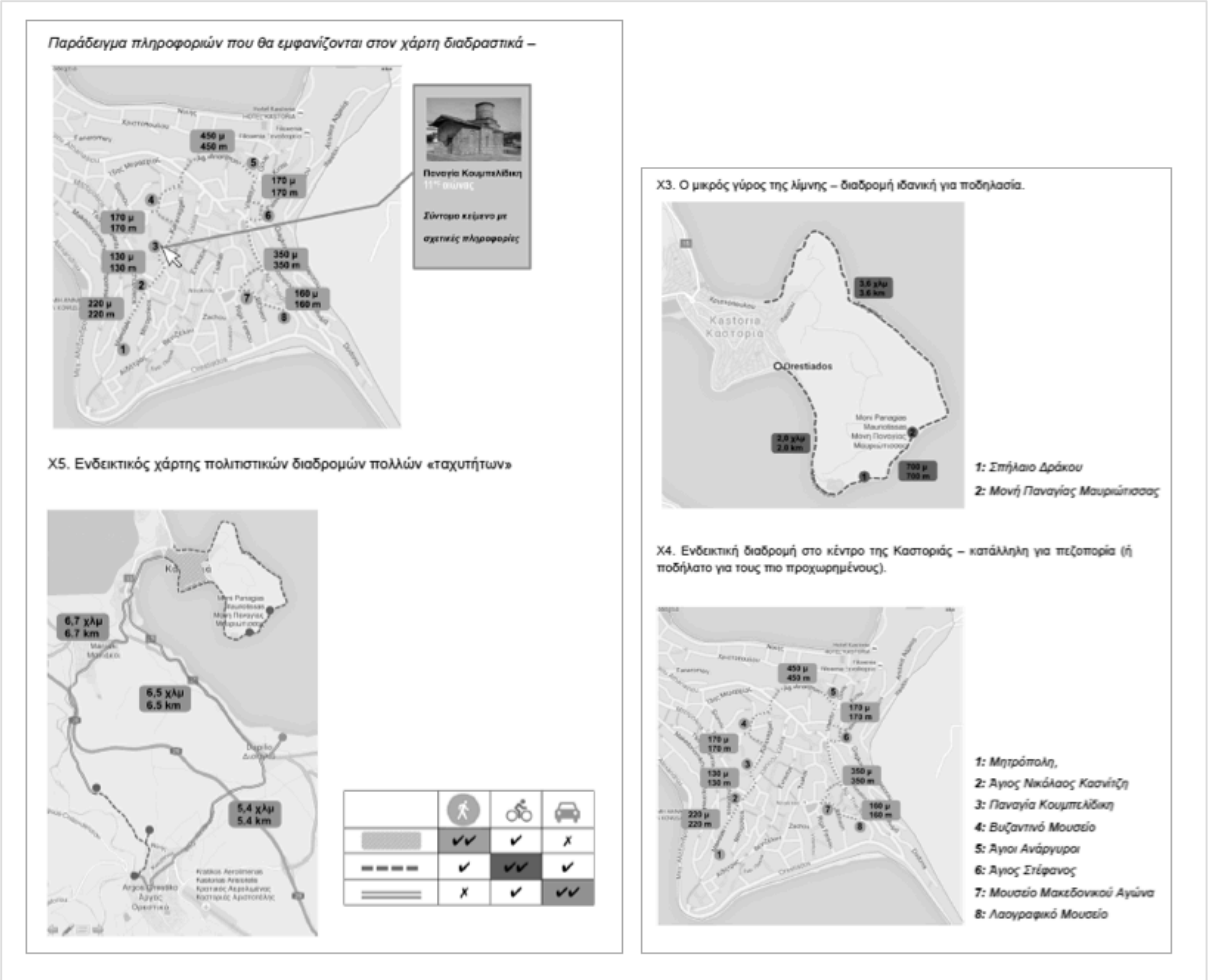

Figure 4.6 Part of experimental Scenario 1 regarding the development of heritage routes at Kastoria.

In order to expose groups to realistic decisions that concerned the promotion of their local heritage, we worked closely with the Ephorate of Antiquities of Kastoria. During the stage of experimental design, the researcher discussed with the Director and Deputy director of the Service about the content and applicability of two heritage project-scenarios. The first (Scenario 1) revolved around the development of several (provisional) digital heritage routes that linked various monuments and sites of heritage tourism interest across the region (Figure 4.6). The second (Scenario 2) proposed the development of an educational programme at the local Archaeological Museum that targeted both the local and wider public (Figure 4.7, page 112). These projects were considered both effective for promoting local heritage and budget feasible.

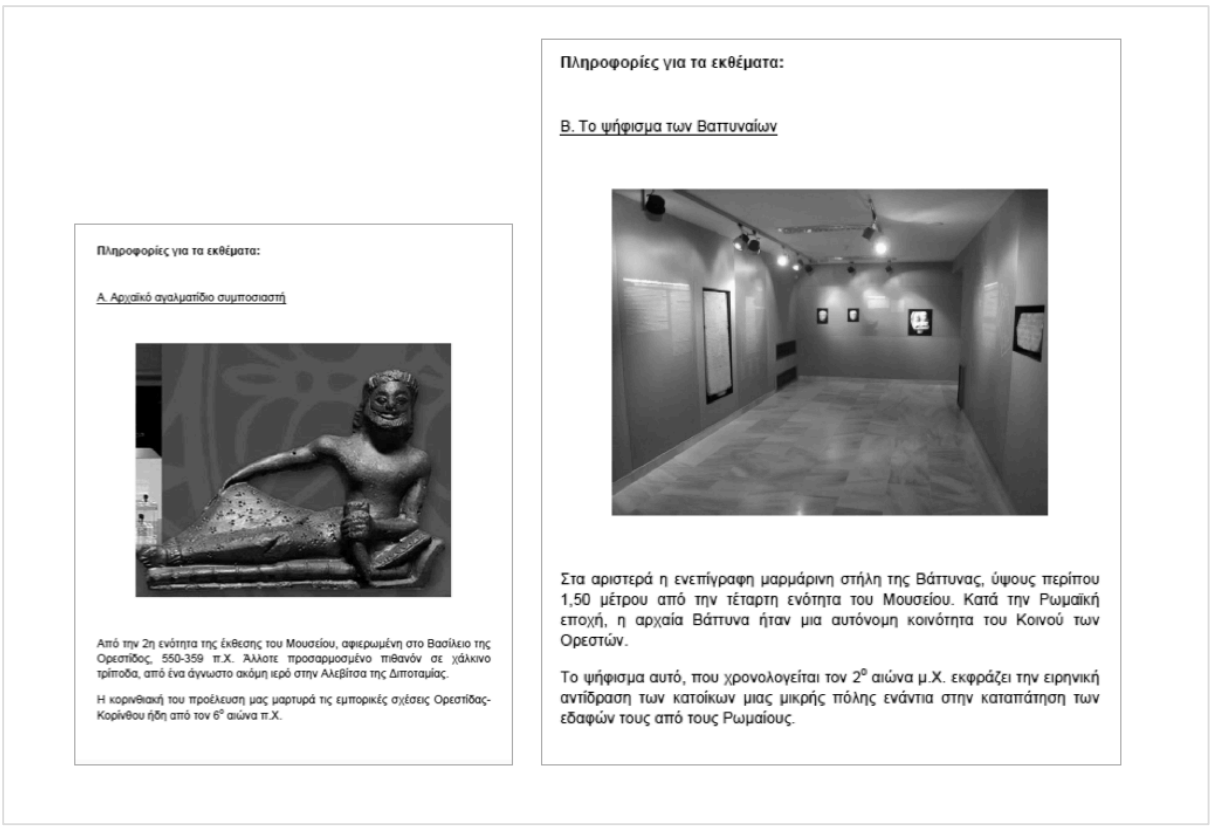

Figure 4.7 Part of experimental Scenario 2 proposing the development of a public engagement project at the Regional Archaeological Museum.

Employing a couple instead of a single scenario was considered a safer option. This is because subjects' decisions could be influenced by scenario-specific characteristics and the degree to which a particular project satisfies one's interests or ideals (Dryzek & Niemeyer, 2010). Thus, the use of two decision-making rounds enhanced robustness. In particular, our scenarios were slightly differentiated with regards to their geographical extent and character. More specifically, Scenario 1 concerned multiple sites, contrary to Scenario 2 that focused on a single site. Given that our interviews with the local community revealed some geographical rivalry between different parts of Kastoria (see Chapter 6), the distinction between the geographic focus of the two proposals helped us to further explore the extent of this antagonism. In addition, the heritage routes project was more visitor-oriented and recreational whereas the museum programme also served educational goals and fitted better with local community engagement. As described in Chapter 7, heritage and community ideals were found to play a prominent role in driving willingness to participate in heritage tourism planning. Thus, the divergence between the two scenarios could expose different receptions of heritage and societal ideals across participants.

It is important to note that contrary to psychological experiments, economic experiments avoid deception (Murnighan, 2015). For this reason, a formal institution (i.e. the Ephorate of Antiquities of Kastoria) was employed to safeguard that pro-heritage decisions could lead to feasible outcomes and provided the experiment with external validity (Croson, 2002). In this light, our collaboration with the local Ephorate in the design of scenarios was valuable not only in proposing activities that were relevant to the destination but in affirming that the Service would commit to implement the projects, if these were financed by participants.

Two pilot sessions were held in September 2015 whereas another five sessions took place in November of the same year. All sessions followed the same process starting from the random assignment of subjects to groups and the distribution of the questionnaires before continuing to instructions for the experimental process and deliberation/decisions for each scenario.

4.6.3 Questionnaire data on subject's preferences and views

Traditional economic thought considers individuals as 'rational' actors whose choices are dictated by a desire to maximize their self-interest. This oversimplification is nonetheless contradicted by vast experimental evidence, which demonstrates that people may also resort to social altruistic behaviour when faced with economic decisions (Brandts & Fatas, 2012). It was thus interesting to explore whether there were specific drivers, related to subjects' profile or ideological background, that shaped their individual choices or inspired them with altruism. Most critically, we needed to explore whether and how dissimilarity between participants of the same group affected their collective outcomes.

In general, intra-group heterogeneity is regarded as a factor that increases complexity and reduces effectiveness (Ostrom, 2015). This allegation deserved further investigation given that participatory governance can lead to a clash of interests and a disparity of beliefs across multiple groups of stakeholders (Byrd et al., 2009; Jordan et al., 2013; Waligo et al., 2013). For heritage tourism, in particular, a disparity of preferences and perceptions can be particularly multi-faceted given that a supposedly shared judgement of what is collectively valued as heritage and how heritage is collectively valued may not be the case (Bessiere, 2013). Inconsistency in heritage valuations and people's willingness to allocate resources to

Name	Description	Measurement
Individual Preferences (IP)	*Desired contribution to the heritage fund*	Experimental Units (0-400)
Heritage and Trust (HT)		
Attachment to heritage	*Affective feelings for local heritage*	Ratings from 1-5 where 1 expresses lowest and 5 highest agreement
Share of responsibility	*Personal duty to protect heritage*	
Institutional Trust	*Trust in local state officials*	
Citizenry Trust	*Trust in local citizens*	
Heritage as priority	*Heritage as top policy priority*	
WTP1	*Willingness to pay for heritage indirectly*	
WTP2	*Willingness to pay for heritage directly*	
Stakeholders' legitimacy (SL)		
Central government	*Acknowledging each stakeholder as a legitimate participant in local heritage tourism planning*	Ratings from 1-5 where 1 expresses lowest and 5 highest acceptance
Regional government		
City councils		
Archaeological Service		
Consultants-specialists		
Tour operators		
Heritage freelancers		
Tourism professionals		
Community associations		
Local residents		
Drivers to collaborate (DC)		
Monetary incentives	*Opportunities to increase own profits*	Ratings from 1-5 where 1 expresses lowest and 5 highest influence
Professional development	*Scope for developing skills/experience*	
Moderate commitment	*Investing moderate personal time*	
Special training	*Training as prerequisite to involvement*	
Collaborative spirit	*Others' willingness to collaborate*	
Demographic profile (DP)		
Gender	*Men, Women*	Dummy 0 (male), 1 (female)
Age	*18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65+*	Scores from 1 (18-24) to 6 (65+)
Location	*Most to least central locations of heritage tourism interest*	Scores from 1 (highest) to 3 (lowest) proximity
Education	*High school diploma or lower; university graduate degree, post-graduate degree*	Scores from 1 (lowest) to 3 (highest)
Relevant Occupation	*Heritage and/or tourism profession*	Dummy 0 (No), 1 (Yes)
Association membership	*Membership to associations*	Dummy 0 (No), 1 (Yes)
Note: IC were collected based on recording data of group discussions during the experiment. All other values are based on questionnaire data collected prior to the experiment.		

Table 4.5 Variables used to predict individual preferences during the experiment.

actions that promote it is thus an important parameter that deserved our attention. Furthermore, intuitive heterogeneity with regards to trust and credibility of participant stakeholders should not be underestimated given its catalytic influence in tourism partnerships (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010). Overall, increasing our understanding of the impact of personal preferences and intra-group dissimilarity of views on collective heritage tourism decisions was of major interest.

To collect relevant data on these issues, we employed a questionnaire survey instrument, which consisted of four sections. The first three had the form of 5-point likert-style statements of opinions on (i) individual preferences and trust, (ii) power legitimacy, and (iii) drivers to collaborate for heritage tourism. The final section asked respondents to provide their demographic details with regards to gender, age, location, education, occupation, and associations membership. A questionnaire sample can be found in Appendix D. Based on a combination of questionnaire data and experimental results, we performed a regression analysis, where individual preferences, as expressed during the experiment, were set as the dependent variable and questionnaire elements were used to predict subjects' behaviour (see Table 4.5, page 114).

The regression model is shown in Equation 1:

$$IP_j = a + \beta_i \boldsymbol{HT}_j + \gamma_i \boldsymbol{SL}_j + \delta_i \boldsymbol{DC}_j + \zeta_i \boldsymbol{DP}_j + e_j, \quad (1)$$

where, IP_j denotes the individual preferences of subject j with regards to money allocation to the heritage fund, $\boldsymbol{HT}_j$, $\boldsymbol{SL}_j$, $\boldsymbol{DC}_j$ and $\boldsymbol{DP}_j$ are the vectors of the attitudinal and demographic characteristics of subject j, and β_i, γ_i, δ_i, and ζ_i are coefficients to be estimated. Finally, e_j denotes the error term.

Successively, we examined how intra-group dissimilarity of the above variables influenced collective (actual) contributions to the heritage fund. Similar to Miner (1984) and Pelled (1996) who explore group behaviour based on its members' traits, we measured intra-group

dissimilarity by averaging the summed absolute differences among all the subjects of a group, as shown in Equation 2.

$$Dis\_c_g = \frac{1}{n}\sum_{j=1}^{n}\left|c_j - c_k\right|, for\ j \neq k, \quad (2)$$

where, Dis_c_g denotes the dissimilarity score of characteristic c and group g and c_j is the value of the individual characteristic of subject j and c_k is the value of the same characteristic for every other subject of the group.

Again, we performed a regression analysis, where intra-group dissimilarity variables were set as predictors of collective contributions, as shown in Equation (3):

$$GC_g = c + \theta_i \boldsymbol{DisHT}_g + \varphi_i \boldsymbol{DisSL}_g + \omega_i \boldsymbol{DisDC}_g + \xi_i \boldsymbol{DisDP}_g + e_g, \quad (3)$$

where, GC_g denotes the collective contributions of group g to the heritage fund and $\boldsymbol{DisHT}_g$, $\boldsymbol{DisSL}_g$, $\boldsymbol{DisDC}_g$ and $\boldsymbol{DisDP}_g$ are the vectors of the dissimilarity scores for each of the sentimental, legitimacy, motivational and demographic elements of group g, θ_i, φ_i, ω_i and ξ_i are coefficients to be estimated and e_g denotes the error term.

4.6.4 Main experimental procedure and data

Once questionnaires were responded, each group was provided with an endowment of 200 tokens and the details of Scenario 1. We requested subjects to decide collectively on how to allocate their endowment using a heritage/group fund mechanism. In essence, any tokens allocated to the heritage fund were invested in the implementation of the proposed project whereas any tokens allocated to the group fund could be equally shared between participants. Commonly to public good experiments, the individually optimal choice was to contribute zero sums to the heritage account whereas the social optimal was to contribute full sums, although any in-between combination was possible (e.g. 150-50 or 100-100). In general, a higher contribution to the heritage fund reflected a cooperative behaviour, as tokens invested in the heritage project reduced the personal gains of the decision-makers. In

contrast, a higher contribution to the group fund implied an uncooperative behaviour given than groups would choose to use their available resources for own purposes (Ostrom, 2015). The exact same process was followed for Scenario 2, which involved the allocation of an equal-value endowment.

It is important to highlight that for treatment groups T2, T3 and T4, personal gains translated into real monetary rewards. More specifically, in sessions that featured treatments with real monetary incentives (i.e. T2, T3, T4), we employed a lottery system, where one group and one of their decisions were randomly selected as winner and real payments were made accordingly at a 1:1 token-euro exchange rate. The random selection mechanism is commonly used in economic experiments as it allows to elicit subjects' behaviour (all decisions maintain equal chances of becoming effective) while economising study costs (Garcia-Gallego et al., 2011; Georgantzis & Navarro-Martinez, 2010).

Collective contributions to the heritage fund were used to compare cooperative behaviour of experimental groups. It should be noted that group decisions remained concealed as contributions were noted on paper and not revealed to other groups. Further, inter-group communication was not allowed during the session and subjects could only interact with their fellow group members. We chose not to impose any time limit on groups for reaching their decisions. Instead, we used the duration of intra-group deliberation as an indicator of groups' performance by keeping a record of the number of minutes passed until a collective decision for each scenario was finalised. This measurement was inspired by previous experimental studies that employed time as a proxy to decision-making process evaluation (Rubinstein, 2007; 2014).

Furthermore, the content of group deliberation was also recorded. Although this is quite uncommon for economic experiments, previous studies do occasionally employ recordings (e.g. Bosman et al., 2006; Kocher & Shutter, 2007). We chose to follow this approach in order to inform the interpretation of our quantitative data, explore conflict and negotiation. More specifically, recordings were employed to extract individual (pursued or desired) contributions within groups and quantify conflict. Our first conflict variable (Conflict1) is estimated as the difference between the average individual preferences and the collective

(actual) decisions, reflecting what behaviour prevails (selfish/pro-social). The second variable (Conflict2) is the standard deviation of individual preferences, quantifying the level of intra-group disagreement.

A direct comparison of groups' performance based on their treatment (i.e. stakeholder synthesis) was performed through non-parametric Mann-Whitney tests (similarly to questionnaire data analysis, as explained in Section 4.5.2). We also performed correlation analysis (Spearman non-parametric tests) to measure associations between contributions, deliberation time, and conflict. Finally, qualitative data provided by the recorded discussions helped us analyse group dynamics when conflict arose. An analysis of our findings can be found on Chapter 8.

4.7 Limitations and ethical considerations

Findings generated through a single-case study design are more likely to suffer from issues of external validity and generalisability (Bryman, 2012). However, given the complexity of the subject with which the thesis deals, time restrictions and cost limitations, our choice was either to engage in an in-depth investigation and analysis of one destination/community or to attempt a multi-case study approach which would unavoidably suffer from superficiality. Based on this dilemma, the former option was considered preferable given that all knowledge of the social world is context-dependent (Bevir, 2013; Flyvbjerg, 2006).

As all research methods have their strengths and weaknesses, our mixed methodological approach sought to compensate for the imperfections and biases associated with each technique. Qualitative data collection and analysis was more immune to researcher's personal judgements and its less standardised nature rendered the coding procedure far more subjective than statistical analysis (Punch, 2005). Nevertheless, interviews were valuable for deconstructing the various meanings people assign to complex terms, such as cultural heritage and for eliciting people's sentiment and feelings. Further, qualitative data facilitated the interpretation of quantitative results on several occasions (e.g. trust issues indicated by numerical data were corroborated by intra-group discussions during our experiment).

In addition to qualitative data issues, our quantitative information bears certain limitations. For instance, our survey instrument could have been subject to acquiescence and social desirability biases by respondents (Bryman, 2012). In this light, anonymous self-administration and the inclusion of both positive and negative statement items of the intended content sought to minimize such flaws (Schuman & Presser, 1996). Further, time and cost restrains led to a relatively small number of experimental observations. However, the use of appropriate statistical methods (e.g. non-parametric tests) was instrumental in deriving valid information out of the gathered information (Corder & Foreman, 2014).

Fieldwork research employed human subjects, examining their perceptions, attitudes and behaviour. To adhere to Data Protection Act (1988) stipulations, we retained the anonymity of all research participants (interviewees, survey respondents, experimental subjects). In order to ensure their non-identification and privacy, we assigned all subjects with a coded name to conceal their identity throughout analysis (e.g. CTZ_1). All participants were informed about the nature of the tasks and the purposes of the project, provided an assurance that the data will be treated confidentially and anonymously, and subsequently provided their informed consent. Research subjects did not belong to any vulnerable group, they were not exposed to any known risk and their participation to the research project was voluntary. During fieldwork research, the researcher had no intention to deceive the subjects and did not conceal her identity.

CHAPTER 5

The case study of Kastoria: place biography and indications of unviability

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the case study of Kastoria in Greece, which constitutes the main geographical focus of the thesis. The chapter seeks to frame the studied destination by providing important background details that render Kastoria particularly interesting for field-work investigation. Major socio-economic and heritage management issues are identified and highlighted, as these challenge its current and future prosperity and sustainability. As the thesis argues, Kastoria presents potential for further heritage tourism development whereas its potential for community-inclusive planning needs to be explored as a means to safeguard future viability, prevent any further lessening of its rich cultural reserve, revitalise its severely-hit economy, and reverse its demographic decline.

The chapter begins by providing information about Kastoria's geographic location and community profile, before moving on to an account of its historical evolution, its cultural capital and its current economic and tourism base. In addition, the chapter explains the administrative framework of tourism development in the area and the local heritage management apparatus with the view to set the current context of stakeholders' power relationships. This discourse is based on secondary data collected via desk research and on primary data generated from our interviews with the local community.

5.2 Profile, location and demographics

Kastoria is one of the seventy-four regional units (*perifereiakes enotites*) of Greece. Greece is classified as a high-income country, of which the economy is based primarily on the service sector and especially on shipping and tourism. Recent years witnessed a severe depression of the national economy, notoriously referred to as the 'Greek debt crisis' (see *inter alia*

Arghyrou & Tsoukalas, 2011; Featherstone, 2011), which led to austerity policies (e.g. cutbacks in public spending) and domino socio-political repercussions (Lyritzis, 2011; Markantonatou, 2013). Furthermore, a long-established phenomenon of Greece is the high concentration of both population and economic activity on few urban regions of the country and particularly on Athens, Attika (Reid et al., 2012a). Consequently, peripheral regions are traditionally heavily reliant on 'hard' public investments and fiscal transfers from the capital, and Kastoria is not an exemption, especially since the decline of its fur clothing industry (see Section 5.4). By combining such dependence with the recent crisis, one can see the immense necessity of establishing income generating activities at Kastoria in order to address local economic issues.

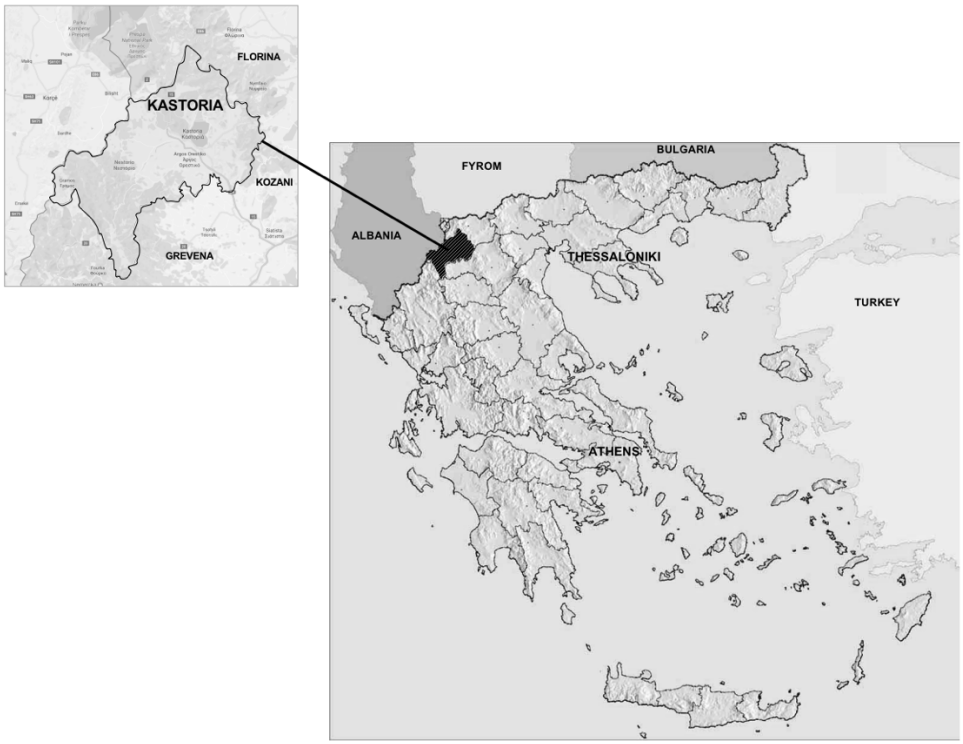

Figure 5.1 The geographic location of Kastoria within Greece.

Geographically, Kastoria is situated in Western Macedonia, at the northern part of the country. It borders on the Greek cities of Florina, Kozani, Grevena, Ioannina and on Albania to the west (Figure 5.1). The area is mostly mountainous and it has three mountain ranges, Verno, Voio, and Gramos. In Gramos Mountains rises Haliacmon River, the longest in Greece, which forms a rich wetland and forest habitat. The capital of Kastoria region is a namesake town, which is hosted at the isthmus of a mountainous peninsula that is embraced by Orestias

Lake (*Limni Orestida*; Figure 5.2). Orestias is the largest lake of the area (29 sq km; Katsiapi et al., 2013) and is part of Natura 2000 network designated as a Special Area for Conservation (Legislative law L.3937/2011, Government Gazette FEK/A 60/31.03.2011).

Figure 5.2 Orestias Lake (source: www.fouit.gr).

Demographic-wise, the population of the region is 50,322 residents, whereas the biggest towns, Kastoria and Argos Orestiko, have about 17,000 and 9,000 residents, respectively (ELSTAT, 2011). Based on earlier census data (ELSTAT, 2001), local population has declined by 6.29% within a decade. According to regional authority data (Region of Western Macedonia, *Perifereia Dytikis Macedonias,* thenceforth PDM after its Greek name), Kastoria's population presents particularly high ageing effects that exceed the national average and a simultaneous shrinkage of its productive groups (especially ages between 20-39), which echoes the scarce employment opportunities offered in the area (PDM, 2015). As it is analysed further throughout the chapter, current economic structures do not facilitate the social sustainability of the place and the ability of community to develop and thrive (see Section 5.4).

The region's history is particularly rich and its past remains narrate Kastoria's biography through its passage through time; from prehistory to antiquity and from the empires era to post-war Greece. Kastoria Town alone features an extensive collection of heritage resources that can form the core of heritage tourism development and linked to other peripheral areas of heritage interest (see Sections 5.3-5.4). Despite its merits, the tourism performance of the region is relatively low and non-specialised, whereas its heritage is threatened by neglect, poor visitor planning and limited resources (see Section 5.4.2).

5.3 Historic background and local heritage

Kastoria and its broader region feature landscapes of high natural and cultural significance. In rural peripheral areas, natural beauty co-exists with heritage resources of unique archaeological, religious and civil architecture, such as monasteries and traditional stone bridges. As the variety of Kastoria's heritage and its past is particularly wide, this section provides an overview of the different layers of local history and distinguishes some key sites of interest for potential visitors in order to provide the reader with a sense of its historic trajectory and heritage capital.

5.3.1 Kastoria Region

The oldest heritage remains of Kastoria are located at its north-west part, in the petrified forest of Nostimo (27-23 million AD) and its small Palaeontology Museum, whereas the earliest evidence of human inhabitancy at the region dates as back as prehistoric times. Traces of two Neolithic sites, Dispilio, a lake settlement at the southern shores of Orestias Lake, and Avgi, a community that used to live few kilometres away from Argos Orestiko, suggest that the region was occupied since the second half of the 6th millennium (c. 5500) (Karkanas et al., 2011; Stratouli et al., 2010). Research on the sites provide important information about the evolution of farming, technology and socio-cultural development of that era, documented by ceramics, tools and other significant finds, such as a wooden tablet with inscribed signs (*Dispilio Tablet*). Today, a temporary small exhibition of some of Dispilio artefacts, curated by Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (Northern Greece), along with an eco-museum that attempts the representation of the Neolithic village are open to the public (Figure 5.3). For

the promotion of Avgi, a specialised documentation centre was also recently established at the modern namesake village.

Figure 5.3 Part of the ecomuseum of Dispilio.

Source: istorikakastorias.blogspot.gr

Throughout Antiquity, Kastoria was a place of prominent importance as it formed part of *Orestis (Ορεστίς - Ορεστίδα)*, an autonomous Macedonian state that according to Herodotus (484-426 BC) was inhabited by the Ancient Greek tribe of *Orestae* (*Ορέσται - Ορέστες*; Samsaris, 1989). According to local mythology, Orestis and its capital (*Orestikon Argos*) were named after Orestes (*Ορέστης*), the famous Greek tragedy figure, who moved to Kastoria after committing matricide (Papaioannou, 1996). Other known cities of Orestis were *Celetrum*, which some identify with contemporary Kastoria Town (Moutsopoulos, 1998) and *Vattyna* (Samsaris, 1982). During the reign of Philip II of Macedon (359-336BC) (i.e. the father of Alexander the Great), Ancient Orestis merged with the Great Macedonian Kingdom, whereas in 197 BC the area was surrendered to the Romans under a status of relevant independence (Samsaris, 1989). Several finds narrating these parts of local history are exhibited at the recently inaugurated Regional Archaeological Museum at Argos Orestiko Town.

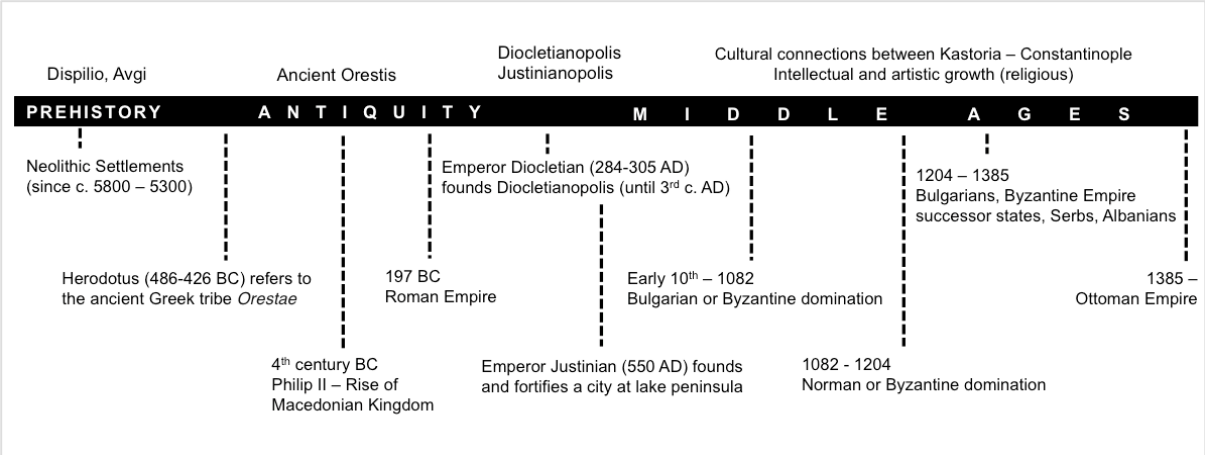

Figure 5.4 Kastoria's timeline from prehistoric times until the Middle Ages.

In late Roman times, the Emperor Diocletian (284-305AD) established a city after his name northwest of contemporary Argos Orestiko Town (Petkos, 2000). According to historian Procopius, Diocletianopolis was inhabited until the end of the 3rd century AD when it was abandoned due to barbaric raids (Petkos, n.d.). Current visitors can view part of the city's fortification whereas archaeological excavations are still conducted in the surrounding area by state universities (at *Paravela* location), where Roman and early Christian remains have been found[1] (Figure 5.5).

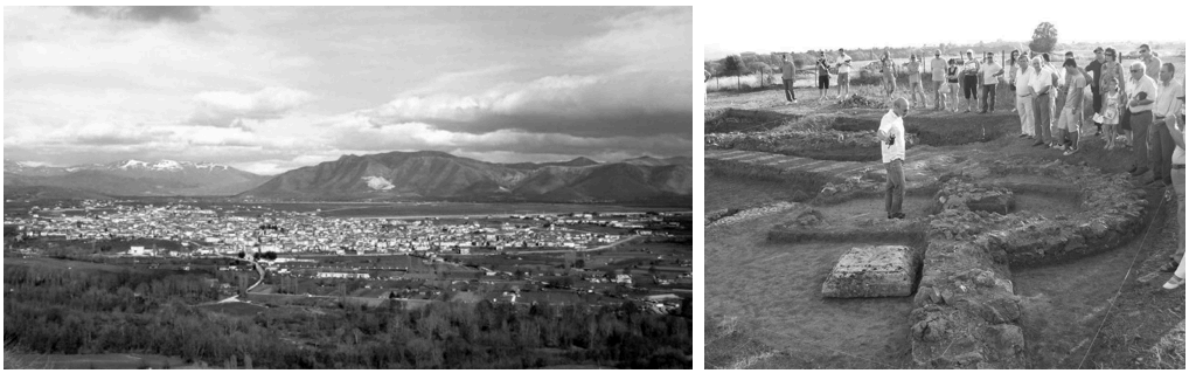

Figure 5.5 The contemporary Argos Orestiko Town (left) and the archaeological site of Paravela (right) (source: fos-kastoria.blogspot.gr).

Upon the separation of the Roman Empire, the region passed under the influence of the Eastern (Byzantine) division whereas in 550 AD, Justinian I (527-565) transferred its urban

[1] See http://argosorestikonproject.org/en/ (last accessed 15 May 2017).

core to the peninsular area around Orestis Lake, i.e. the location of contemporary Kastoria Town (Tsolakis, 2009). During medieval times, Kastoria remained a contested area between the Byzantine Empire and various conquerors, changing hands between the former and the Bulgarians, Normans, Francs, Serbs, and Albanians. Close contacts with Constantinople, a major economic and cultural centre of the time, along with its autonomous Christian Church led to Kastoria's spiritual and artistic prosperity, which is still reflected by its preserved religious architecture and painting (Tsolakis, 2009).

Figure 5.6 Part of the Byzantine Monastery of Taxiarches (Tsouka) in Nestorio, established in mid-13th century (Kostopoulos n.d.). The monument complex is built on a rock, over a Haliacmon tributary that forms a waterfall.

Source: istorikakastorias.blogspot.gr

In 1385, the Ottomans seized the region, introducing a new era to Kastoria's trajectory that lasted for about five centuries. Under the Ottoman rule, the area evolved into an important commercial hub of the Balkans, experiencing both economic and cultural prosperity. The Muslim population of the area grew whereas in the 15th century, the regions' multicultural character was further enriched by the settlement of Jewish families to Kastoria Town (Tsolakis, 2009). In the meantime, Kastorians' engagement in leather processing developed into a profitable fur clothing business. Based on written sources of the early 16th century, about seven hundred fur-manufacturing workshops were operating in the area whereas from the 17th century onwards, Kastorian furriers expanded their business outside the Empire borders, increasing both their wealth and kudos across Europe (Tsolakis, 2009).

During the 19th century, as the power of the Ottoman Empire was diminishing, ethnic-Greek revolutionaries started an anti-Ottoman war of independence on multiple fronts that led to

the establishment of a small Modern Greek state (1830) in the south. However, as armed operations in Macedonia (1822, 1854) had little success, the incorporation of Kastoria to the new nation-state delayed considerably and Kastorians remained under Ottomans' jurisdiction until the early 1900s. In parallel, the activity of other ethnic-groups in the area, especially the Bulgarians, fuelled their rivalry with the local Greek population that aspired a territorial unification with Greece. This rivalry culminated in armed conflict, known as the 'Macedonian Struggle' (1903-1908), to which Kastorians participated actively (Gounaris, 1996). Eventually, Kastoria's annexation to Greece occurred in 1912, during the First Balkan War.

Figure 5.7 The stone bridge of Dendrochori, built in the second half of the 19th century, is a typical example of local vernacular architecture.

Source: www.cyberotsarka.gr

In its most recent history pages, Kastoria witnessed several adversities and socio-political events. The toll of the Greco-Turkish War (1919-22) was the expulsion of its ethnic-Turkish population (c. 14,000) and its replacement by ethnic-Greek Asia Minor refugees (Pelasgidis, 1994). Such a *de jure* exchange of populations implied the transformation of its local community composition, which in turn required socio-economic assimilation and adjustment (Hirschon, 2003). Furthermore, during WWII (1939-45), Kastoria was occupied by the Axis powers, experiencing famine, the extinction of its Jewish families (c. 700) and the massive execution of unarmed populations in retaliation for anti-Nazi guerrilla action in the area (Tsolakis, 2009).

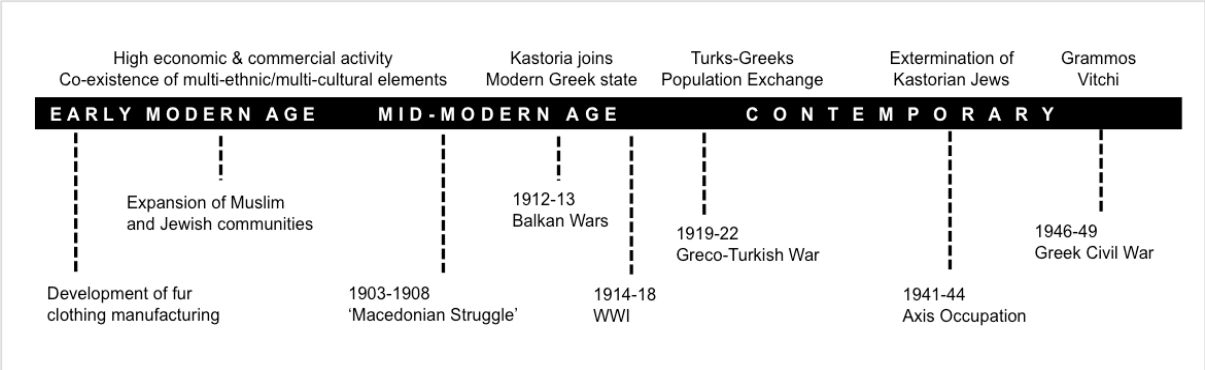

Figure 5.8 Kastoria's timeline from the Ottoman era until the mid-20th century.

Although the victory of the Allies introduced a period of peace and recovery, this was not the case for Greece and especially Kastoria, which shortly after became the 'theatre of operations' for the Greek Civil War (1946-9). The mountain ranges of Gramos and Voio (Vitchi) were turned into major guerrilla strongholds and battlefields between left-wing and right-wing forces.

Figure 5.9 Mud-brick residences at Kranionas 'ghost' village.

Source: el.wikipedia.org

The Civil War is considered the most vicious conflict of the Modern Greek history in terms of human losses and socio-political consequences (Rafaelidis, 1993; Margaritis, 2002). Apart from the death toll, a substantial number of local populations were displaced, as mountainous village residents emigrated to neighbouring cities and Yugoslavia (Koliopoulos, 1995), leaving behind the 'ghost' settlements of 'Korestia' (e.g. Ano Kraniona, Gavros, Palaia Lefki). Today, this complex of abandoned mud-brick villages at the foot of Vitsi Mountain compose an

outstanding monumental landscape (Exintaveloni et al., 2014; Figure 5.9, page 128). Despite their architectural and historic value, the mud-brick houses have not been designated with the monument status officially, although part of the community acknowledges them as such (interviewees ACDM_1; CTZ_5; CTZ_6). Moreover, today, a public park dedicated to 'National Reconciliation' (*Ethniki Symfiliosi*) operates at Gramos that houses a photographic exhibition and a guesthouse[2]. Overall, Gramos and Vitsi (Voio) Mountains bear both natural and historic significance for visitors due to their rare flora and fauna, wild landscape and war memories.

Figure 5.10 Fur clothing manufacturing is a key element of local handcraft and Kastorian identity.

Source: Kathimerini

In addition, Kastoria features several intangible vernacular elements that shape its cultural landscape and place identity. Traditional handcrafts relating to fur processing and clothing manufacturing have passed across generations through teaching and training (interviewees CTZ_8; CTZ_9; TRMS_1). The fur-clothing industry, which defined the character of the place through its synchronous architecture (e.g. merchants' mansions and villas; see Section 5.3.2) is gradually transformed into industrial heritage (see also Chapter 6). For example, the local folklore museum at Kastoria Town exhibits fur-making artefacts and tools whereas there was recently a proposal to establish a museum of fur.

[2] See http://www.grammos-pes.gr (accessed 27 December 2016).

Figure 5.11 A brass instrument band performing in a public square at Kastoria Town during the annual 'Ragkoutsariya' festivity.

Source: www.alphafm.gr

Furthermore, there is a series of social and cultural practices inherited from the past and performed in the present in the form of traditional customs. Festive events taking place in both the capital and the periphery attract many locals and visitors. The most popular is the local carnival of Ragkoutsariya, celebrated in early January, which is believed to have its roots in pagan Dionysian rituals, as a public rite of transformative, liberating and cathartic character (interviewees CTZ_9; ACDM_2). During Ragkoutsariya, Kastorians disguise and promenade on the streets, drink wine and dance to the music of brass instrument bands (Figure 5.11). Revellers pass by local houses to expel the 'evil' spirits and invite their residents to participate in the festivity, which climaxes with a carnival parade.

Another festive season is this preceding the Great Lent, when cultural practices such as Boubounes or Paliapoules (fires at public squares) and the symbolic game of Haskaris (interviewees ACDM_2; CTZ_9; TRSM_7) take place. In addition, commonly to other Greek provinces, Kastorian villages hold traditional outdoor festivals and fairs (*panigiria*) normally as part of religious celebrations, which feature traditional music and dancing. Interestingly in recent years, more traditional customs have revived (e.g. *Klidonas*; interviewees CTZ_7; CTZ_10). In their verbal accounts, community members suggested that these heritage practices serve as opportunities for social gatherings that bring the local people closer to each other (interviewees CTZ_1; CTZ_5; CTZ_6; see also Chapter 6). Participation of 'outsiders' is currently minimum, yet welcomed by Kastorians (interviewees ACDM_2; TRSM_4; TRSM_7).

5.3.2 Kastoria Town

The cultural and built landscape of Kastoria Town is defined by Orestis Lake, and its geographic location is framed by a peninsular 'island' area and a high hill at the peninsula's back. Its built environment is organised amphitheatrically around the lake, extending on both its north and south shores (Figure 5.12). Our oral testimonies reveal that Kastoria's geography and relation to the lake is not only pivotal in defining its cultural landscape but also fundamental to community identification with the place (see Chapter 6).

Figure 5.12 View of Kastoria Town (Source: www.visitgreece.gr).

Orestis Lake ecosystem and biodiversity led to its designation as special protected habitat (*Natura 2000 network*). Nevertheless, in recent decades the lake did not receive policy attention as analogous to its environmental and socio-cultural significance, whereas no special management body was ever established to monitor its viability (interviewee GRMV_1). In consequence, Orestis is suffering from diffuse pollution, caused by urban and agricultural activity (e.g. discharge of domestic sewages during the past), which is responsible for its eutrophication and poor ecological status (Kagalou & Psilovikos, 2014). Since the mid-1990s, efforts are being made to tackle pollution and restore water quality (e.g. sewage

diversion), however, current measures have not reversed negative impacts entirely (Katsiapi et al., 2013; interviewees GVRM_1; GVRM_3).

Tourism-wise, the lake is considered significant but mostly as an element of visual attractiveness (interviewees GVRM_2; GVRM_3; TRSM_5; TRSM_9). A hillside cave (*Dragon Cave*) with impressive stalactite and underground lake formations that complements its natural beauty was recently transformed into a visitor attraction. Yet, apart from the cave site, the heritage, recreational and tourism value of the lake is under-exploited and currently restricted to its shoreline (Figure 5.13).

Figure 5.13 View of lake shoreline at Kastoria Town.

Source: Author (2014).

Regarding its built heritage, this witnesses the lengthy biography of the historic capital. State legislation for the protection of antiquities and material remains of the pre-1830 period was introduced as early as 1934 promoting the conservation of the town's Medieval monuments and artefacts (Voudouri, 2010). Today, Kastoria preserves around seventy churches built during the periods of the Byzantine (9th-14th c.) and Ottoman Empires (15th-19th c.). In Kastoria Town alone, 13 Byzantine and 43 post-Byzantine monuments are maintained at good condition (Tsolakis, 2009; Figure 5.14, page 133). According to Moutsopoulos (1992), these were mostly family chapels erected by local dignitaries, church functionaries, military commanders and lords. Religious architecture had a strong influence on the development of Kastoria's urban structure, as neighbourhoods were created around the churches (Pantzopoulos et al., 1983). This is particularly manifested in the historic neighbourhoods of

Dolcho and Apozari at the east end of the town, where there is a clear pattern of residencies organized around the core of a church.

Figure 5.14 Medieval churches at Kastoria Town: Agios Stefanos, late 9th century (left) and Panayia Koumbelidiki, early 11th century (right) (Source: Author, 2014).

Apart from their architectural value, the churches maintain a rich collection of wall paintings and portable religious icons that witness the style evolution of religious art during that time (Tsigaridas, 2002). Although a small collection of these icons is exhibited at the local Byzantine Museum (currently closed for refurbishment), churches themselves are not open to the public. Access issues do not merely affect heritage tourism development but also raise questions of inequality given that religious heritage sites bear significance as cultural 'reminders' and leisure spaces (interviewee GRMV_5; see also Chapter 6). Some remnants of the medieval fortification are also preserved and form part of Kastoria's urban scenery at various locations within the city[3].

In contrast to antiquities, protection measures for newer monuments came considerably later (after 1950 based on legislative law L. 1496/1950) whereas the 1973 General Building Code and its subsequent amendment in 1985 (legislative laws L. 1577/73; L. 1577/85, *Genikos Poleodomikos Kanonismos*[4]) eventually formalised the concept of traditional settlements and

[3] At the west side of the Ottoman Mendrese (west), modern visitors can see parts of the medieval city wall and the ruins of a circular tower. Similar relics can be found next to the contemporary town hall and Koumbelidiki Church (north) (see also Tsolakis, 2009, pp. 115-137).

[4] Available at http://portal.tee.gr/portal/page/portal/teelar/NOMOTHESIA/GOK%201985 (accessed 15 January 2017).

listed buildings. Until that time, developing pressures on Kastoria had vast effects for its heritage

Figure 5.15 Kastoria Town during the late-Ottoman period depicted on a postcard (Source: Tsolakis, 2009, p. 198).

Figure 5.16 View of Kastoria Town from Dolcho neighbourhood today (source: Author, 2015).

resources (e.g. the 1934 town plan that extended the city beyond the lake peninsula), whereas the lack of a sound policy framework for their protection, restoration and exploitation had dramatic results for their integrity (Pantzopoulos et al., 1983; Tsolakis, 2009). We thus observe that the survival of built heritage leaned on the framing socio-political

conditions of the time that shaped conservation mentality (e.g. cultural connotations, modernization).

More specifically, Kastoria Town used to be a multi-ethnic, multilingual and multi-religious area, with Muslim, Christian and Jewish populations (Tsolakis, 2009). Yet, according to our oral accounts, Kastoria's annexation by the Modern Greek state signalled a preference for the preservation of the Greek-Christian heritage and the simultaneous erasure of antagonist cultures (especially the Turkish element) and their material remains (interviewees CTZ_2; GVRM_1; TRSM_3). Thus, it is likely that to a certain degree the selection of what to preserve have been influenced by its capacity to reassert identity and the recently-defined national boundaries, purposely neglecting sites due to their association with other religions and ethnic identities. For instance, out of the seven mosques of Kastoria Town, only one (*Kursumli Mosque*) survives today and its state is rather poor, whereas a seminary (*Mendrese*) used for the education of Muslim scholars has not been restored or used since 1970 when it became state property (Tsolakis, 2009; interviewees GRMV_4; GRMV_5). Further, the late Ottoman military quarters (also known as *Mathioudakis Camp*) endured due to their re-use by the Greek army and more recently by citizen action that revoked its demolition (Kostopoulos, 16 February 2014; see also Chapter 6).

In parallel, the appeal of modernization 'won' over the preservation of historic vernacular buildings, which were torn down to be replaced by modern infrastructure (see also Chapter 6). Especially the second half of the 20th century saw an aggressive alteration of Kastoria's townscape, where 'old' traditional houses were demolished to make space for modern apartments (de Leon, 2015). Fortunately, the characterization of the two historic neighborhoods, Dolcho (*Ντολτσό*) and Apozari (*Απόζαρι*), as protected traditional settlements assisted in preserving an important part of Kastoria's physiognomy. In 1977, the Greek state declared the two neighbourhoods as areas of high historic, folkloric and architectural value that needed protection (Government Gazette FEK 412/B/28-4-1977)[5]. As suggested by the Act (article 4), new buildings within the protected quarters were thenceforth

[5] The regional limits that were set initially by the 1977 Act were Dolcho shore and Megalou Alexandrou Avenue in the south, Apozari shore and Alketa Street in the north. A second Act six years later (FEK 195/ Δ/01-06-1983), extended the protected area to the West side of the city.

constructed according to specific standards (e.g. specific height and aesthetic elements). In Dolcho and Apozari there are still several mansions, dating from early 18th to late 19th century, which mostly belonged to wealthy fur merchants. Mansions used to house fur shops and warehouses on their ground floors and residences at their upper levels (Pantzopoulos et al., 1983).

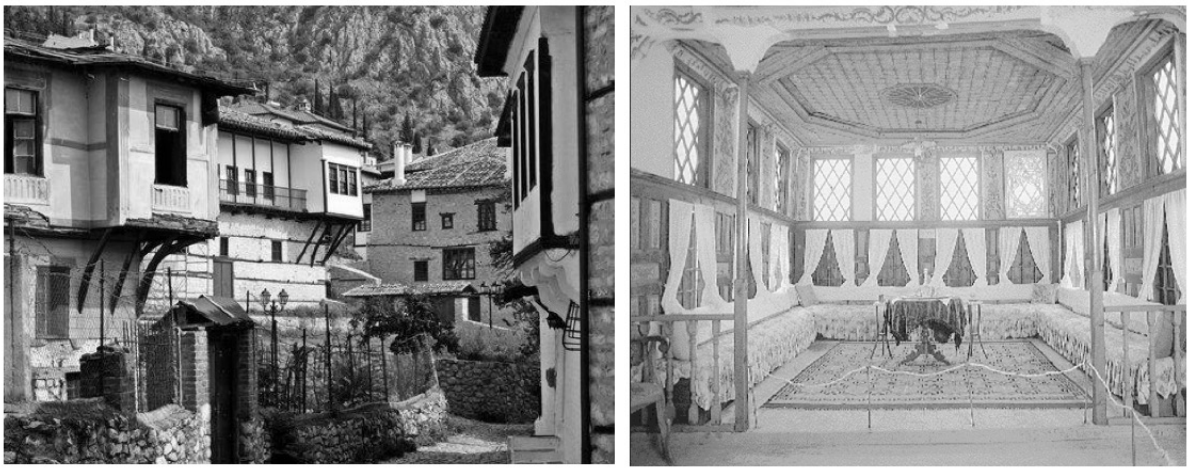

Figure 5.17 Kastorian mansions and traditional houses: on the left, a view of Dolcho neighborhood (Source: wikimapia) and on the right, an interior room of Aivazis mansion (18th century) (Source: Kathimerini).

Figure 5.18 Kastoria's modern residences at Dolcho, c. 1925 (left) and Apozari, c. 1930 (right).

(Source: Author, 2014).

As with the churches, mansions' aesthetic value is not confined to their exterior, as internally they also feature unique decorative elements such as wooden-sculptured ceilings and wall paintings (Figure 5.17). Apart from the mansions, Kastoria maintains a vast number of smaller

vernacular houses of Ottoman/Macedonian-style architecture and residences of the inter-war period (early 20th c.) that feature architectural elements inspired by Western Europe (neoclassicism and eclecticism), which witness the economic prosperity and cosmopolitanism of Kastorian merchants (Tsolakis, 2009; interviewees CTZ_11; TRSM_1; see also Figure 5.18, page 136). The latter were assigned the 'monument' status from 1983 onwards (Government Gazette FEK 667/Δ/21.11.1983; FEK 7/Δ/11.1.1990).

Unfortunately, the vast majority of listed buildings in Dolcho and Apozari today suffer from neglect and degradation. Recent years witnessed the restoration of some historic mansions by state intervention through the allocation of EU structural funds (e.g. Vergou and Papaterpou Mansions). However, as most of these interventions lacked an effective adaptation plan, restored public buildings remain largely unoccupied and subject to re-decay (de Leon, 2015; interviewee GRMV_1). In parallel, there are few cases where private initiative led to the successful rehabilitation of listed buildings, either through their owners' funds (e.g. Vergoulas and Pouliopoulos Mansions, which were refurbished to support tourism; Figure 5.19, page 138) or by third-party institutions (e.g. the Macedonian Struggle Museum hosted at Picheon Mansion, which was established through charity investment; interviewee TRSM_1).

Yet, as shown in Table 5.1 (page 139), these constitute exceptions to a rule of non-adaptation. For private properties, the situation is much more critical as out of the 351 privately owned listed buildings, merely 60 are preserved in good conditions (de Leon, 2015). Notably, local residents document that the number of listed houses is ever-decreasing year by year due to decay (interviewees CTZ_2; CTZ_12; TRSM_3; TRSM_4). Due to these issues, the pan-European NGO 'Europa Nostra' had recently characterised the two historic neighbourhoods as endangered and included them in its 'Heritage in Danger' programme (de Leon, 2015).

As implied earlier, a major issue for public properties that challenges the sustainability of local heritage is that interventions do not always feature a solid plan for adaptive re-use or future maintenance. The fact that cultural heritage in Greece comprises mostly public goods can become particularly problematic in times of economic stagnation, as budgetary allocations for heritage are being decreased. Operations and maintenance costs are not always easy to

cover through entrance fees – where those apply – and thus, alternative revenue streams need to be identified (interviewees GRMV_1; GRMV_5).

Figure 5.19 Adaptive re-use of historic buildings: at Dolcho, Vergoulas Mansion (c. 1857) operates as a hotel (left) whereas Pouliopoulos Mansion (c. 1860) as a restaurant (right) (Sources: www.vergoulasmansion.gr; www.ntoltso.gr).

Figure 5.20 Historic buildings left to decay: on the left, the now collapsed Ventou Mansion (Source: de Leon, 2015, p. 9) and on the right, Christopoulos Mansion in Apozari (Source: wikimapia).

In addition, for private residencies the lack of economic incentives provided by the state (e.g. tax reliefs) suggests that their maintenance depends heavily on the perceptions and economic resources of owners themselves (see also Chapter 6). In several cases, the private status of listed buildings creates complexity for preservation because ownership lies in multiple heirs (interviewees CTZ_2; CTZ_7; GRMV_5). At the same time, strict regulations regarding modifications or interventions to buildings' façade and interiors may cause the dissatisfaction of local residents or business owners that engage in tourism (de Leon, 2015; interviewee TRSM_4). Furthermore, the offices of the state authority that supervises interventions to

listed buildings (Service of Modern Monuments and Technical Works, see Section 5.5.2) are not located in Kastoria whereas time-consuming bureaucratic procedures pose additional difficulties to effective and timely protection (de Leon, 2015; interviewee GRMV_1).

Name	Chronology	Area	Ownership	Status/condition	Re-use
Aivazi	ear.18th c.	Dolcho	Municipal	Restored; Good	Museum
Mantzoura	ear.18th c.	Apozari	State	Not restored; Bad	-
Malkou (Sahini)	ear.18th c.	Apozari	Private	Not restored; Bad	-
Sapountzi	ear.18th c.	Apozari	State	Restored; Good	-
Siomkou	ear.18th c.	Apozari	State	Not restored; Bad	-
Natzi	mid-18th c.	Dolcho	State	Restored; Fair	-
Basara	mid-18th c.	Dolcho	State	Restored; Good	-
Emmanuel Br.	mid-18th c.	Dolcho	State	Restored; Good	Museum
Batrinou	mid-18th c.	Dolcho	State	Restored; Good	-
Tsiatsiapa	mid-18th c.	Apozari	State	Under restoration	-
Christopoulou	mid-18th c.	Apozari	Municipal	Not restored; Bad	-
Skoutari	late 18th c.	Dolcho	State	Restored; Fair	-
Delidina	mid-19th c.	Dolcho	Private	Restored; Good	Museum
Vergoula I	mid-19th c.	Dolcho	Private	Restored; Good	Hotel
Vergoula II	mid-19th c.	Dolcho	Municipal	Restored; Good	Art venue
Stefani	mid-19th c.	Dolcho	Private	Restored; Fair	-
Pouliopoulou	mid-19th c.	Dolcho	Private	Restored; Good	Restaurant
Gaki	mid-19th c.	Dolcho	Private	Not restored; Bad	-
Picheon	mid-19th c.	Dolcho	Private	Restored; Good	Museum
Orologopoulou	mid-19th c.	Dolcho	Private	Restored; Good	Hotel
Mitousi	mid-19th c.	Dolcho	Municipal	Restored; Good	-
Mavroviti	mid-19th c.	Apozari	Private	Restored; Good	Residence
Tzotza	mid-19th c.	Apozari	State	Restored; Fair	-
Papaterpou	late 19th c.	Turkish Qtrs.	State	Restored; Good	-

Notes:
Apart from the mansions listed here, there are also plenty listed vernacular residencies (351 in total, de Leon, 2015). However, detailed data are not publicly available.

Table 5.1 List of traditional Kastorian mansions and their current condition (Tsolakis, 2009; kastoria.gov.gr last accessed 16 May 2017).

Therefore, Kastoria's heritage is presently at risk due to a lack of effective management and planning coupled with scarce resources for maintenance, monitoring and enhancement (interviewee GRMV_1; GRMV_5). Although local authorities seem to acknowledge the potential role of heritage resources as a means of developing the area further, the centralisation of government control pose barriers to problem resolution (Municipality of Kastoria, 2012; interviewees GVRM_1; GRMV_2). Moreover, funding issues, inadequate security staff at heritage sites, and low promotion of local monuments and sites to potential

visitors are acknowledged as further weaknesses (Municipality of Kastoria 2012; interviewee GVRM_5). However, the fact that there is a significant number of local cultural associations and a register of volunteers that are willing to contribute to cultural initiatives and common causes is viewed as a potential strength for future development and management (Municipality of Kastoria, 2012).

5.4 Local economy and tourism

This section sketches the structure of Kastoria's economy while it portrays its current tourism sector by highlighting its current weaknesses and scope for future growth. It first describes the general economic conditions that frame our case study (primarily, fur manufacturing decline and unemployment) and subsequently focuses on the size and traits of the local tourism industry.

5.4.1 Economic landscape

Kastoria's economy is based predominantly on the third sector (75.6%) compared to its primary (10.9%) and secondary (13.5%) sectors (PDM, 2015). At the same time, fur clothing manufacturing and commerce remains key business in the area despite its recent decline (Kastoria Chamber of Commerce, 2009; PDM, 2015). The processing and trade of fur products are long-established economic and export activities, which go back to medieval times (Tsolakis, 2009). Especially in post-war years, fur production and commerce became the biggest employer of Kastoria, based primarily on small family businesses and cottage industries (interviewees CTZ_8; TRSM_7). Economic restructuring from agriculture to manufacturing drove the upward social mobility of Kastoria's labourers, and after the 1960s, there was high domestic emigration from rural areas to urban centres (i.e. Kastoria and Argos Orestiko Towns) (Pantzopoulos et al., 1983). The 1970s and 1980s saw the thriving of fur businesses (interviewees CTZ_2; CTZ_3; CTZ_8; CTZ_12), which allowed the local community to reach a good standard of living, in some cases much higher than the national average (Pantzopoulos et al., 1983). Until the 1990s, Kastoria had economic self-sufficiency and a very low unemployment rate.

However, in the 1990s, fur export activity witnessed a considerable decline (interviewees CTZ_2; CTZ_8; CTZ_9; TRSM_1). The economic downturn of the once lucrative fur sector, gradually led to the closure of family fur firms, an increase in unemployment and the migration of local population to urban centres that provided more employment opportunities (ELSTAT, 2001; 2011). Although the fur crisis of the last two decades had changed the economic profile of Kastoria dramatically, in more recent years, the negative economic climate was further worsened, as the whole country was sunk into economic depression. As the crisis accentuated existing problems, the previously rich region of Kastoria is now characterized by poverty and extreme unemployment. In particular, Kastoria's GDP per capita is considerably low (i.e. 36th at national level) and since the dawn of the national recession, unemployment in Western Macedonia escalated from 15.4% in 2010 (national average 12.7%) to 30.8% in 2015 (national average 24.9%) (ELSTAT, 2016, p. 112).

Despite the fur crisis, Kastoria remains one of the most important centres for the production, processing and trading of fur goods internationally (PDM, 2015). Reasonably, the fur industry provides the main export product of the area, mainly to Russia (Kastoria Chamber of Commerce, 2009). Yet, fur production is no longer based on a high number of family businesses but rather on a small number of large manufacturing units (interviewees CTZ_8; TRSM_7). Industrial transformation led many furriers to change their profession and move to the primary and third sectors (interviewees CTZ_3; CTZ_6; TRSM_6; TRSM_7). Kastoria primary sector relies on agriculture and forestry whereas most popular goods are apples, beans, wine, and the breeding of fur animals (PDM, 2015). In addition, the tetriary sector has grown significantly to compensate for the declined fur processing and commerce activity, relying primarily on domestic tourism and business activities that serve the local population (Municipality of Kastoria, 2012).

5.4.2 Tourism sector

Both the number of businesses and the number of arrivals in Kastoria illuminate the relatively small-scale development of tourism in the area that holds potential for further expansion. Between the mid-1990s and mid-2000s, local tourism experienced an important rise of overnight stays by international tourists and the growth of its domestic tourism by about 45%

(Kastoria Chamber of Commerce, 2009). This led to the rapid expansion of its accommodation sector, where capacity escalated from 836 beds in 1996 to 1,394 beds in 2006 and 2,044 beds in 2016, suggesting a total increase of 41% (Hellenic Chamber of Hotels, 1996[6]; 2006[7]; 2016[8]). In parallel to the decline of fur business, tourism was seen as an alternative source of development and economic activity (interviewees CTZ_10; GVRM_3; TRSM_7).

However, community accounts suggest that tourism growth lacks proper planning (interviewees GVRM_2; TRSM_4; TRSM_9). Further, despite its impressively quick growth, the sector is still relatively small – for instance, bed capacity represents about one third of regional facilities (6,090) and merely 2.6% of the national total (788,553; Hellenic Chamber of hotels, 2016[9]). Overall, at national level, Western Macedonia exhibits disappointing figures as both its distribution of overnight stays (0.4% in 2015) and its bed occupancy (17.8%) are the lowest in the country (ELSTAT 2016a, p. 155). This implies that within the broader region tourism represents only a minor portion of its economic activity, which mostly specialises in the production of electric energy and renowned regional products (e.g. saffron, furs, wines) (Reid et al., 2012b).

For Kastoria bed occupancy is slightly higher at 20.4% and is based predominantly (more than 80%) on domestic travellers (ELSTAT, 2016b). In terms of visitor numbers, in 2011, the annual number of both domestic and international visitors to Kastoria region accounted for about 72,000 visitors, excluding day-trippers (ELSTAT, 2012). This figure was relatively small given that national arrivals exceeded 16 million the same year (ELSTAT, 2012). In 2015, arrivals to Kastoria (excluding daytrips) dropped to 62,000 (ELSTAT, 2016b). This does not reflect the sector's performance at national level, as 2015 was a very successful year for Greek tourism (i.e. arrivals to Greece grew by 7% according to UNWTO, 2016).

Such dissimilarities in performance are not surprising given that the national tourism product relies primarily on island vacations and urban tourism to Greek major cities (Athens, Thessaloniki). Tourism in Greece has still a seasonal character (Spring-Summer) and winter

[6]Available at http://www.grhotels.gr/GR/BussinessInfo/library/DocLib/Hotels1996_Regional.pdf (accessed 14 May 2017)
[7]Available at http://www.grhotels.gr/GR/BussinessInfo/library/DocLib/2006STATISTIKI_ALL.pdf (accessed 14 May 2017).
[8]Available at http://www.grhotels.gr/GR/BussinessInfo/library/DocLib/Hotels_By-Region_2016.pdf (accessed 14 May 2017)
[9]Available at http://www.grhotels.gr/GR/BussinessInfo/library/DocLib/Total-Country_2016.pdf (accessed 14 May 2017).

destinations are less crowded and attract mainly domestic travellers. This is also the case for Kastoria were 76% of total arrivals concern domestic trips (ELSTAT, 2012). The international tourism market of Kastoria is tiny, accounting for barely 0.05% of the national distribution (Tsekeris & Skoultsos, 2015). Kastoria is mainly accessed through the recently improved road network (e.g. Egnatia Motorway) whereas passenger volumes at the local airport in Argos Orestiko remain rather low (Reid et al., 2012b). No rail network operates in the area whereas trip duration from Athens to Kastoria ranges from 6 to 9 hours. It is thus plausible to suggest that Kastoria needs to establish a strong tourism offer in order to attract more visitors. Further, it is suggested that tourists visiting Kastoria are price sensitive whereas tourism expenditure is rather low (Hellenic Chamber of Hotels, 2013; interviewees TRSM_1; TRSM_9).

Thus, compared to its neighbouring cities (Kozani, Florina, Grevena), Kastoria remains the most popular (domestic) destination of the area but it is nonetheless well-behind in tourism numbers and the employment of its heritage features (interviewees TRSM_5; TRSM_8; TRSM_9). It makes sense to suggest that the development and promotion of differentiated tourism experiences is vital for enriching local tourism while expanding Kastoria's tourist base. Interestingly, the latest development plan of the Regional Authorities suggests that 'the rational exploitation of Kastoria's Lake and of its historic and cultural resources, in combination to the development of alternative tourism' will be catalytic to the sustainable growth of the area (PDM, 2015, p. 40). The goal of the regional authorities is to develop a tourism brand that will promote Kastoria as a 'destination of quality alternative experiences' through the development of thematic tourist activities such as heritage, religious, ecological and agro tourism (PDM, 2016, p.4; interviewees GVRM_3; GVRM_4). The local government agenda also acknowledges heritage as a comparative advantage that can be employed for the development of a competitive advantage in tourism (Municipality of Kastoria, 2012, p. 130). Yet, local authorities highlight that local resources, including heritage, are presently under-exploited by tourism (ibid; interviewees GVRM_1; GVRM_2; see also Sections 5.3-5.4).

5.5 Local management

This section explains the structure of administrative authorities and the role of state officials that shape tourism, heritage and development policies in the region of Kastoria. In particular,

we distinguish the different levels of civil government institutions, including the regional and municipal authorities that shape tourism policy (Section 5.5.1), whereas we discuss the role and position of state appointed heritage professionals that hold responsibility for the management of local heritage resources (Section 5.5.2), as the principal stakeholders that represent public interests at destination level.

5.5.1 Civil and tourism governance

The regional unit of Kastoria belongs administratively to the region (*periferia*) of Western Macedonia, along with the units of Kozani, Florina and Grevena. Regions are self-governing bodies and regional governors and councils are popularly elected every five years (Hellenic Ministry of Internal Affairs, 2014). Regions are responsible for handling European structural funds, budgeting for local projects, planning and implementing development policies across their periphery (Government Gazette FEK 87A/7-6-2010). This provides regional authorities with certain autonomy with regards to (tourism) development strategies.

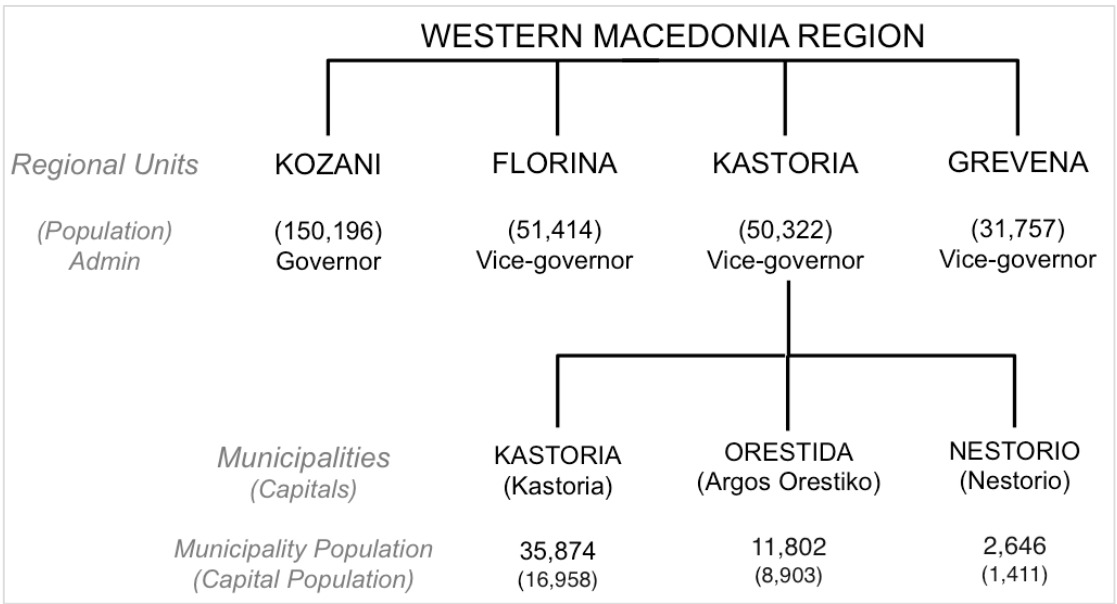

Figure 5.21 Structure of local administration and population numbers (FEK 87A/7-6-2010; ELSTAT 2011 Population Census).

The geographic units of Western Macedonia elect a single governor and three vice-governors (Figure 5.21). During the conduct of the study, the governor had his seat in Kozani whereas Kastoria was represented regionally by a vice-governor. Although theoretically all areas share

equal rights and importance, anecdotal evidence suggests that regional policy tends to favour Kozani, since it is the biggest unit in terms of both population size and economic importance (electric energy supplier) (interviewees CTZ_7; CTZ_9; TRSM_3). In spite of the fact that this can challenge Kastoria's capacity to make decisions independently, it appears that for tourism decisions particularly, more power rests locally.

More specifically, the Tourism Organisation of Western Macedonia (*Etaireia Tourismou Dytikis Makedonias*) has its offices in Kastoria. The latter reveals Kastoria's highest significance with regard to tourism activity compared to the other regional units (interviewee GRMV_3), while it can be politically beneficial in terms of assigning more local control to the planning and funding of tourism strategies. Indeed, the organization's management board is dominated by Kastorians, as it consists of a locally-based authorised councillor for tourism and culture (chair), the Mayor of Kastoria Town, two representatives of Kastoria's accommodation sector and three regional councillors to represent each of the rest regional units[10]. At the same time, we observe that the organisation's management rests mostly upon government actors (five out of seven board members), with some representation of private sector interests. Tourism planning and promotion is conducted collaboratively between regional authorities, Kastoria's municipalities, and the Greek National Tourism Organisation (*Ellinikos Organismos Tourismou*), a central government department operating under the Ministry of Tourism (PDM, 2016). Thus, currently there is no direct input by the broader community and local tourism sector (apart from accommodation) in issues concerning tourism policy.

Furthermore, based on state Law 3852/2010 (Kallikratis Programme; FEK 87A/7-6-2010), the regional unit of Kastoria is subdivided into three municipalities (*dimoi)*, which are also popularly elected (mayor and council) on a five-year basis. These are Kastoria, Orestida and Nestorio. The Municipality of Kastoria is the seat of the regional unit of Kastoria and the administrative body for Kastoria Town and several nearby villages. The second most populated town of Argos Orestiko is administered by the Municipality of Orestida. These municipalities are further subdivided into municipal communities (*dimotikes koinotites*),

[10] See http://www.visitwestmacedonia.gr/el/about-company [in Greek] (accessed 14 May 2017).

which in essence have merely an advisory role[11]. At the time of the study, the city council of Kastoria had appointed a Deputy for Tourism and a Deputy for Culture that focused on relevant topical affairs. This did not hold for the remaining two councils, where councilors dealt with tourism and culture as part of a broader agenda. This illustrates that tourism and culture have greater magnitude for Kastoria Town compared to peripheral areas.

At municipal level, local governments can plan for tourism activities and infrastructure, yet their funding depends largely on regional authorities (interviewee GRMV_3). Kastoria city council has also authority over the management of some key local heritage tourism sites, such as the Dragon Cave and Dispilio Eco-Museum (see Section 5.3), which it operates through a public benefit (Orestias) and a public anonymous (Makednos) company, respectively. Local museums housed in municipal properties (Folklore and Costumes Museums) are run by local community associations.

5.5.2 Heritage governance

The institutional structure of heritage protection and management in Greece relies heavily on the state (Hamilakis, 2007). Ultimate control on heritage matters rests centrally with a distinction drawn between heritage resources dated prior to 1830 (the year of Modern Greek state establishment) and contemporary heritage (i.e. dated after 1830). For the former, power lies with the Central Archaeological Council (*Kentriko Archaiologiko Symvoulio*), whereas for the latter regional authorities report to the Central Council for Modern Monuments (see Figure 5.22, page 147). The two councils have power over the shaping and proposing of planning and intervention policies to the Ministry (Hamilakis, 2007).

Locally, the main state heritage agency that operates in the area is the *Ephorate of Antiquities of Kastoria* (*Eforeia Arxaiotiton Kastorias*; henceforth EFA, after its Greek name). The local EFA is a dependent peripheral service, under the jurisdiction of the General Directorate of Antiquities (*Geniki Diefthinsi Archaiotiton)* and the Archaeological Council of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports that fund and supervise its activity from Athens (interviewee

[11] See http://www.kastoria.gov.gr [in Greek] (accessed 23 December 2016).

GRVM_5). Based on state law, cultural heritage older than 1453 is owned by the state[12] and managed exclusively by the peripheral EFAs (Law 3028, FEK A 153/28-6-2002). EFA holds responsibility for all pre-historic, classical, byzantine (pre-1453) and post-byzantine monuments, sites and artifacts (1453-1830), including research, conservation, protection, promotion, exhibition, publication and management[13]. EFA employees engage heavily in time-consuming bureaucratic work due to legal requirements (e.g. rescue digs in areas prior to infrastructure works) and they are much concerned with the imposition of restrictions and the implementation of law (Hamilakis, 2007; interviewee GVRM_5; see also Chapter 6). Research, such as archaeological excavations, can be carried out (and funded) by other institutions (e.g. universities) but only under the permission of the central council and the supervision of the local EFA (interviewees GVRM_5; ACDM_1).

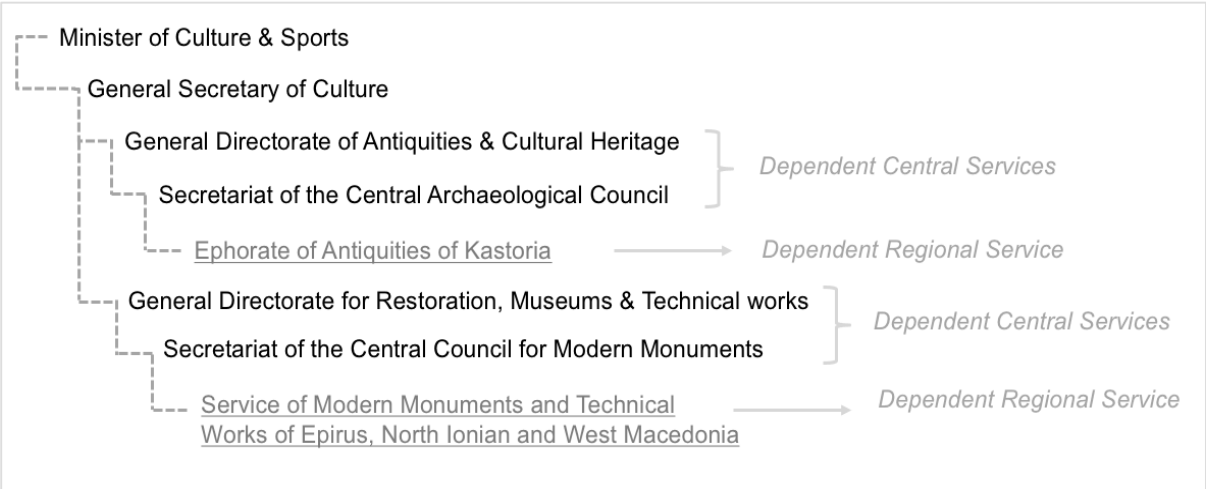

Figure 5.22 Structure of state administration at central and local levels for heritage dated pre-1830 (antiquities) and post-1830 (modern monuments)[14].

In contrast, responsibility for all other material heritage, which succeeds 1830 but is earlier than 100 years (L. 3028/02), lies with the *Service of Modern Monuments and Technical Works of Epirus, North Ionian and West Macedonia* (*Yperesia Neoteron Mnimion*), which also represents the Ministry of Culture locally. As its name implies, the Service is responsible for an extensive geographical area of Greece and has its offices in Ioannina City. The Service is

[12] It should be noted that the Greek Orthodox Church is also recognized as a legitimate owner of ecclesiastic heritage, such as parishes and portable icons.
[13] http://www.yppo.gr/1/g1540.jsp?obj_id=98220 [in Greek] (accessed 28 December 2016).
[14] http://new.culture.gr/en/ministry/SitePages/structure.aspx (accessed on 14th May 2017).

assigned with the protection, restoration and promotion of sites and historic landscapes within Kastoria among other regions[15]. Contrary to antiquities, a significant part of most recent local cultural heritage, primarily residencies designated as heritage, are privately owned. According to state legislation 'on the protection of antiquities and heritage in general' (Legislative law L. 3028.02, Government Gazette FEK A, 153/2002) any intervention to historic buildings demands for the approval of the Ministry of Culture. Both the Ministries of Culture and Urban Development have also the right to impose special restrictions on the uses and the terms of intervention to listed buildings. In turn, the owners are expected to preserve and protect them, covering maintenance costs by themselves. Financially, investment to meet quality and comfort standards by abiding to state rules is quite substantial, while securing state permission can be particularly time-consuming (de Leon 2015).

It needs to be underlined that the two local heritage institutions do not directly deal with tourism issues. Nonetheless, given state control over heritage, tourism development that engages with heritage sites is *de facto* impossible without the collaboration and supervision of the local Heritage Services and the approval of the Ministry. Thus, we observe that although Kastoria has relative control over tourism development, it has much less power to influence heritage management. In consequence, tourism and heritage planning remain disconnected whereas wider community input is currently minimum (or non-existent) to the highly centralised and expert-led heritage policy and practice.

5.6 Concluding remarks and a way forward

Kastoria represents an interesting case of an emerging tourism destination, which is challenged by its depressed economy, its ever-decreasing population, and its relatively poor tourism performance. Its rich natural (e.g. Gramos, Orestis Lake) and cultural environment (e.g. archaeological sites, historic districts) remain largely under-employed and disconnected from tourism activity. Kastoria Town alone presents a high 'concentration' of heritage assets and maintains important elements of its historic physiognomy and its Medieval and Modern-age allure. A vast number of religious sites, traditional mansions, and post-war neoclassical

[15] http://www.yppo.gr/1/g1540.jsp?obj_id=98138 [in Greek] (accessed 28 December 2016).

residences document its multi-layered and rich cultural past. Part of this heritage is well-conserved but has not been adapted to contemporary needs; churches are locked and traditional houses remain empty. In parallel, there is a considerable number of listed buildings that have been left to decay. Admittedly, the inclusion of Kastoria in 'The 7 Most Endangered' sites list by Europa Nostra, as one of the most threatened heritage landmarks of Europe (de Leon, 2015), demonstrate its fragile future.

Based on our analysis, it appears that there are several factors that threaten heritage sustainability, including the centralisation of heritage management, the absence of proper policy and planning proposals to encourage rehabilitation and re-use, the lack of public access to heritage sites, and the exclusion of the broader community from decision-making for heritage tourism. The tourism sector, which has recently grown to compensate for the loss of fur manufacturing activity lacks a strategic plan, operates well-under capacity and has little impact on the local economy.

In this context, heritage tourism can become instrumental in revitalising the economy and tackling unemployment by creating work opportunities across cultural heritage, conservation, tourism and tourism-supporting services. At the same time, it can create incentives for the revitalisation of the historic urban landscape and the safeguarding of heritage under threat. However, based on the literature (see Chapter 2), a sustainable integration of heritage with tourism necessitates collaborative planning and community inclusion in planning and management. Given that in Kastoria a community-based governance has never been pursued, it presents an ideal case for exploring how pluralist planning can be instigated in a destination with no prior participatory experience.

CHAPTER 6

Talking to the community: Exploring local heritage narratives and stakeholders' relations

6.1 Introduction

Based on the methodological design explained in Chapter 4, this chapter moves on to discuss our fieldwork findings at Kastoria, starting from our semi-structured interviews with the local community. In detail, the aim of this chapter is two-fold; firstly, it sets out to explore the attitudes of local stakeholders towards local heritage, and in particular those of state experts and non-expert citizens. The purpose for doing so is for assessing the nature and qualities of associations made with the past (i.e. how heritage is understood and how community interacts with it) and for evaluating current practice of heritage management in Kastoria. Secondly, the chapter explores the relationships between these stakeholders and their perceptions of each other's positions within the community. In this regard, relations between experts and non-experts as well as interactions between citizens and other local government agents from the political sphere are investigated. Such exploration is vital for evaluating the prospects of citizen participation in heritage tourism planning and for identifying any major issues and challenges that need to be addressed before embarking on collaborative decision-making.

The chapter begins by discussing experts' role as the principal stewards of tangible cultural heritage and their stance towards current and desired interactions between monuments and the broader public. As it is analysed heritage management policy is largely shaped by Harrison's (2011) distinction between 'official' and 'unofficial' heritage and Smith's (2006), Authorised Heritage Discourses (AHD) that place a strong emphasis on monumental cultural material of 'self-evident' significance. It is argued that this ideological framework and its subsequent practice contribute to a culture of 'detachment' from state protected heritage resources whereas our discussions with representatives of both sides (namely, experts/non-experts), reveal some mutual distrust.

The next section of the chapter moves deeper into the spectrum of citizen attitudes towards the past and its remains. Here, we observe heterogeneous behaviours that range from grassroots activism for rescuing heritage at risk to intentional neglect and deliberate destruction. In parallel to this, we find that citizen narratives feature elements of 'quotidian' heritage (e.g. intangible cultural practices), which serve as references of identification with community and place, contrasting alienation with monumental heritage (e.g. in terms of promoting inter-communal bonding). Moreover, in face of the economic crisis, local community members exhibit some desire to strengthen their cultural identity and a high consideration for their interaction with local landscape.

Moreover, the themes that emerged from the interviews data reveal the existence of strong feelings of distrust and aversion to the political state of affairs in citizens' collective consciousness. As it is maintained, these perceptions are deeply rooted in past experiences of governmental ineffectiveness, corruption and the political culture of disempowered citizens. As the chapter concludes, current circumstances as shaped by the crisis call for social transformations and can mobilise a change of 'traditions' with regards to citizenship, through reflexivity (Archer, 2007; Giddens, 1991), increased capacity to aspire (Appadurai, 2013), opportunities for enhancing connections between community and heritage and ultimately, collaborative planning (Bevir, 2013; Ron, 2016).

6.2 'Official' heritage, stewardship and materialism

In his book 'Heritage: Critical Approaches' (2011), Rodney Harrison draws a distinction between 'official' and 'unofficial' heritage to highlight the 'gap' between those heritage remains that are formally recognised as significant and thus worthy of protection, and other resources and practices of the past which are assigned with marginal importance by the state, but may be nonetheless appreciated by individuals and communities as part of their personal or communal cultural capital (p. 14-5). Such a distinction is highly relevant to our case study, where we observe that archaeological and monumental heritage that 'objectifies the past' (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 101) is legally protected by the Greek state (through the Ministry of Culture and its local institutions; see also Chapter 5) in contrast to other elements, such as intangible traditions and heritage practices, which are neither equally subjected to legislation

nor they are benefited by state provisions. As it is discussed in the following paragraphs, the said division has a strong influence on how heritage is understood and managed whereas it determines the ways through which the local community engages and connects with its past.

In particular, the local branch of the state Archaeological Service, formally known as the Ephorate of Antiquities of Kastoria (*Eforia Archaeotiton Kastorias*), has privileged authority over decisions concerning the management of antiquities and the heritage of the Byzantine and Ottoman periods that date earlier than *AD* 1830. In fact, this official heritage is not merely protected by the Greek state but also legally owned by it. Further, official heritage dating after *AD* 1830 is not *de facto* state-owned but it is still legally protected and strictly monitored by the Service of Modern Monuments and Technical Works of Epirus, North Ionian and West Macedonia (*Yperesia Neoteron Mnimion kai Technikon Ergon Epiru, Voreiou Ioniou kai Dytikis Makedonias)*, which is headquartered outside Kastoria region, in the neighbouring city of Ioannina. Thus, in practice, the state through these local administrative branches, either undertakes or approves all *action* related to official heritage, including its identification, assessment, intervention and exposure to protective and preservation measures (Fairclough, 2008) (see also Section 5.5.2 for a detailed account of the position and responsibilities of these Services).

Based on the aforementioned, it is not surprising that our interviews with stakeholders representing the local Archaeological Service, illuminated that state appointed experts tend to see themselves as the principal custodians of local heritage. In essence, discussions with both experts and non-experts suggested that the former are imbued with a sense of heritage ownership that seems to extend from the state to its employees (see also Fouseki, 2009). A feeling of ownership can be regarded as positive, given that it is generally associated with greater commitment, and with personal appreciation and intimacy with the objects of work (O'driscoll et al., 2006). Thus, this relationship is likely to benefit heritage, considering that its management lies in the hands of individuals who are not solely characterised by extensive knowledge and skills, but also by a strong sense of duty and affection. Nevertheless, the fact that state experts are accorded with exclusive authority and control over official heritage has also a negative side. This stems from their over-concern for conservation and material protection, which is prioritised over any other action for heritage. As an expert stressed, 'at

first level, we intervene to save a monument, because *our primary responsibility is to preserve them and save them* and at a second level, to promote them' (interviewee GVRM_5; emphasis added). A prioritisation for the safeguarding of heritage material may be not by itself problematic, however, the fact that it is coupled with limited human and financial resources implies that action beyond protection and conservation occurs rather rarely.

Perceptions of ownership and commitment were further illuminated when it was stated that experts are assigned with the duty to defend heritage against any actual or potential risks. As it was commented, the Ephorate retains the right to prohibit or stop any unauthorised intervention to or near heritage sites, 'even one that causes *visual damage* to a monument' (interviewee GVRM_5; emphasis added). Interestingly, it was later on admitted that the law defines the terms 'visual damage' and 'nearby' rather loosely, which suggests that each Ephorate is practically entitled to set its own definitions and criteria. Thus, this example does not merely document a high consideration for material damage but also illustrates experts' privilege in determining acceptable and non-acceptable change.

Another notable observation from our discussions with state professionals, and quite interrelated with our previous remarks was the assertion that 'scholars [were] coming from all over the world to study [*their*] wall paintings' (interviewee GVRM_5, emphasis added). As it was implied, this was putting experts under the stress to 'protect [heritage] for the next generations and preserve it to the best possible condition' (ibid.). This testament is noteworthy not only because it reaffirms experts' custody of official heritage, exemplified here by the Byzantine wall paintings, but also because it implies a value taxonomy that justifies conservation for the purpose of scholarly research as a(n) (moral) obligation in its own right. Moreover, the view that protection is necessary 'for the next generations' indicates that scientific traits assigned to heritage are fixed in time.

As Smith (2006) observes, it is common for heritage experts to view monuments and artefacts as carrying intrinsic values, meaning that their perceiving them as *a priori* and statically significant. According to Harrison (2010), the idea of heritage as intrinsically important encourages the focus on heritage physical fabric. Thus, emphasis on material and concepts of intrinsic heritage values are ideologically intertwined. Moreover, the assignment of pre-

determined values (e.g. scientific, aesthetic) renders their importance as axiomatic and leaves little space for a more dynamic, more pluralist and perhaps more broadly relevant assessments of heritage. Rather, the universality of heritage values and their imperishable character suggests that 'heritage must be preserved unchanged' so that it can be passed on to the future (Waterton & Smith, 2010, p. 12). In consequence, local citizens are mostly excluded from official heritage nomination and interpretation, contributing very little to what Smith (2006) defines as 'Authorised Heritage Discourses' (AHD). As she underlines, AHD are devised by professionals in the heritage field in order to define what heritage narrative is being told and frame heritage practice, while assigning the wider public with a passive recipient role.

Quite paradoxically, expert judgements appear to be particularly influential for the non-expert community, illustrated by the fact that when the latter were asked to describe local heritage, they mostly drew on these official discourses. Indicatively, Kastoria's mansions, the Byzantine churches and monasteries, and the pre-historic Lake Settlement were some of the most popular answers to 'what is heritage' questions. Interestingly though, the majority of these respondents was not in the position to provide many details about official heritage sites (e.g. which ones they had visited) or even name them when photo elicitation methods were employed by the researcher during the interviews. In contrast, accounts of intangible and ordinary heritage elements, such as traditional customs and local craftsmanship, had a more personal tone but were rarely assigned the heritage label (see Table 6.1, page 155; see also Section 6.4).

Perhaps inevitably, power asymmetries that privilege the state with the management of heritage extend beyond the realm of action, shaping also *interaction* with official heritage and the ways through which community does relate to its past. It is thus likely that experts' concern for material protection in combination with their sense of stewardship could have paved the way towards policies that discourage community's connection to official heritage. Lack of physical access to major heritage sites, such as the Byzantine or post-Byzantine churches, combined with other strict protection policies appear to cause friction between state professionals and the rest of the local community (interviewees CTZ_12; GVRM_1; GVRM_5; TRMS_3; TRSM_5). Monuments remain closed to the general audiences even after

the completion of their restoration works, whereas portable artefacts are rarely left *in situ* for security reasons.

	Narratives of official heritage
Researcher: How would you describe the cultural heritage of Kastoria?	
CTZ_3: Do you mean what sites it has?	*Identification as material*
Researcher: Yes.	
CTZ_3: The mansions, the churches are very beautiful. Each one has its own beauty. The Lake Settlement is very nice; I have been there once.	*Description is general*
Researcher: Did you like it?	
CTZ_3: Ok, it is very nice – you live in today and you are transferred to another time, you imagine how it was back then. Ok, it is nice.	
Researcher: Have you been to any mansions or churches?	
CTZ_3: I had been in the previous years, when they were still newly restored and access was allowed, many years ago. Ok, I have been to several. They are nice. As I said, it reminds you of how it was back then.	*Repetition; detachment?*
Researcher: Which one is the most important monument of Kastoria, in your opinion? Which one comes first to mind.	
CTZ_3: I think it is mostly the churches and the mansions. This comes to my mind when a tourist comes here and asks me what to visit first.	*No specific sites. Non-personal (the tourist schema)*
	Narratives of unofficial heritage
Researcher: I have never been to the Ragkoutsariya… Do you take part in it?	
CTZ_3: All the region takes part now. In the previous years, only Kastoria Town took part because in the villages the carnival took place in during New Year and New Year Eve. The lakeside villages and Argos Orestiko Town celebrate the carnival then. Kastoria Town celebrates it from the 5th to the 8th of January, and in the last day celebration climaxes with the parade. We participate. We like it a lot. It is a traditional carnival. It has nothing to do with Patra's carnival. It has traditional music bands; all people go out with their own bands. It is a very nice gathering of all the residents. And we have taught our children, because we used to take them with us at these events when they were very young, and now the children continue it with their friends, the same thing we used to do back then.	*Extensive narration; details. Personal tone. Collective essence (e.g. 'we like it'). Characteristics of heritage articulated but no 'heritage' label assigned by the subject.*

Table 6.1 Interview sample that illustrates the antitheses between official and unofficial heritage narrations.

As a result, a part of the community holds the impression that experts exert excessive control over cultural heritage remains. As it was pointed by a citizen, 'the Ephorate considers the Byzantine churches being their estate and they even prohibit people from photographing them. No matter whether I live in Kastoria and there is a church in my neighbourhood, I am not allowed to take a picture of it!' (interviewee CTZ_12). Such statement implies that an otherwise positive sense of ownership could be perceived as possessive and exclusionary, reminding us Fouseki's (2009) definition of Greek state archaeologists as 'possessive individualists'.

On their behalf, heritage professionals justify their attitude by reporting that incidents of vandalism, thievery or misappropriation of heritage sites have fostered their feeling of distrust towards the general public (interviewee GVRM_5). Thus, while they acknowledge that most people appreciate heritage, they feel that there are members of the public that lack what is viewed as the 'necessary respect' and caring capacity towards monuments and artefacts (see also excerpt 6.1). Following this rationale, the opening of heritage sites to the public can only be conditional and subject to constant monitoring, which is nonetheless impractical due to lack of resources.

> 'The churches are closed to the public because we have too many damages. At Koumbelidiki Church we have removed graffiti from its exterior walls two or three times by now. Not anyone has the maturity to respect the monuments the way they should do'.
>
> Interviewee GVRM_5 [6.1][1]

Inescapably, it appears that anxiety for conservation of material and its intrinsic values overshadows the collective sharing of heritage and community encounters with it. At the same time, societal or identity values attached to heritage by non-experts are given comparatively little attention. For instance, in expert accounts we discovered that lately, local community associations were asking for the Ephorate's permission to host cultural events in the courtyard of a Byzantine church in the city centre because of its 'sense of historicity'

[1] Please note that details of interviewees' profile are provided in Chapter 4, Table 4.1.

(interviewee GVRM_5). Although this request was not rejected it was neither particularly welcomed. In the eyes of the expert, it would be much more beneficial if community pushed for the banning of car parking in the area, so that the monument could be protected from aesthetic and material damages.

Therefore, it is plausible to suggest that experts' distrust towards non-experts is reinforced by their differences in understanding heritage and dissimilarities in their assessments of value with which heritage sites are invested (e.g. protection as opposed to use). As Waterton and Smith (2010) stress, it is common for heritage professionals to view communities as 'lacking' their accepted vision for heritage which in turn makes them reluctant to allow other groups to engage in heritage on equal terms. Hence, heritage experts appear to assume responsibility for framing community's experience with heritage (see excerpt 6.2) and for setting the conditions (e.g. education, mentality) through which participatory action could take place (see excerpt 6.3).

> 'We would like to ascribe the Tsiatsiapa Mansion to the local community, but conditionally. With terms and criteria that will assure they will respect it and treat it as a monument'.
>
> Interviewee GVRM_5 [6.2]

> 'It is easy to assign heritage management to communities but at the same time, it is necessary to cultivate a mentality of responsibility and respect. This is the biggest challenge'.
>
> Interviewee ACDM_2 [6.3]

Interestingly, our interviews with local residents and tourism professionals revealed that distrust between heritage experts and the broader community is in essence reciprocal. Lack of communication between heritage institutions and the public regarding heritage projects or applied policies seems to sustain a wide gap between experts and citizens. Current practices of top-down conservation and management and limited efforts to 'open' official heritage to a broader audience – both physically and mentally, have cultivated feelings of dissatisfaction and resentment towards state heritage agents. On several occasions,

interviewees questioned or criticised the quality of work conducted by heritage professionals, characterising it as bureaucratic, inefficient and poor (interviewees CTZ_2; CTZ_4; CTZ_12; TRSM_3; TRSM_4; TRSM_5). Thus, as reflected by our data, part of the community seems to believe that experts are overwhelmed with institutional procedures at the expense of effective heritage protection and promotion (see excerpts 6.4-5).

> 'The Ephorate is merely interested in receiving funds, formally communicating with the Ministry of Culture, performing their administrative tasks, and carrying out the restorations. They restore a church, lock it and move to the next. There is no engagement with the public, no engagement in education, no engagement in academic research and, of course, there is no engagement in tourism'.
>
> Interviewee TRSM_3 [6.4]

> 'I live here for 22 years and they are restoring Tsiatsiapa mansion since then. For 22 years! At some point, they made stained-glass windows, then these broke. Who knows how much money they spent… Then they used glass painting instead. I saw them there once; they were sitting and drinking coffee'.
>
> Interviewee TRSM_4 [6.5]

6.3 Activism, alienation and intentional neglect

It might come as no surprise that those who engaged in criticism against heritage experts were in their majority community members with a genuine interest in local heritage. This interest is manifested either by their professional identity (e.g. architect, tour guide), their membership to local cultural associations, and/or their involvement in grassroots heritage-based initiatives. A notable example of grassroots activism that unfolded during field research was citizens' intervention to the demolition of the Ottoman military barracks located at the entrance of Kastoria Town (also known as the Mathioudakis building). Mathioudakis was erected in early 20th century and associated with many events of local history, such as WWI, Asia Minor refugee settlement, WWII, Axis occupation and the Greek Civil War (Kostopoulos, 2014). In 2006, the building passed under the jurisdiction of Kastoria city council which eventually decided its demolition and the erection of the new police headquarters by the

Ministry of Public Order in its place. Albeit the decision caused the public outcry of local citizens, the Central Council of Modern Monuments declined its recognition as listed. Following this decision, a local cultural association filed an appeal[2] that stressed the historic value of the building and suggested its restoration and adaptive re-use while disrupting demolition plans through an injunction (interviewee TRSM_5; see also excerpts 6.6-8). The dispute was resolved by the State Council and eventually in early 2016 Mathioudakis was assigned the monument status thanks to citizens' intervention. This case exemplifies local heritage activism, where citizens intervened to defend a manifestation of heritage (e.g. Ottoman, military; see also Section 3.3.2) that was devalued by the state (Fouseki & Shehade, 2017).

> 'They want to destroy this building because they hold that it has nothing interesting. How did they conclude that it has nothing interesting? Because it is Turkish? It is still a monument. Good or bad, it is the history of the town.'
>
> Interviewee CTZ_4 [6.6]

> 'We used our personal income and we did a fundraising campaign in order to pay for this thing. The issue is now taken to the court. We make efforts...'.
>
> Interviewee TRSM_5 [6.7]

> 'Kastoria does not need yet another historical mistake and cultural crime, as the ones of the previous decades when various public and private buildings, which were worthy of conservation, were nonetheless demolished'.
>
> Interviewee CTZ_12 [6.8]

Admittedly, there are citizens within the local community who exhibit a caring behaviour for cultural heritage. This behaviour is not merely evident in non-expert accounts but also acknowledged by experts themselves, including their descriptions of residents' positive attitude towards archaeological research in the area (interviewee ACDM_1) and a recognition

[2] Available online (in Greek) at https://www.gopetition.com/petitions/ένσταση-κατά-της-απόφασης-του-υππθπα-για-τον-στρατώνα-μαθιουδάκη.html (accessed 21 February 2017)

of residents' long-standing role in the protection of religious monuments (interviewee GVRM_1; GVRM_5). For instance, an Ephorate representative recalled how much they were impressed when one evening they visited a medieval temple and a local neighbour immediately showed up to ensure that they were not intruders who would harm the site (Interviewee GVRM_5). In another account a city council representative described that 'as far as [they] remembered, the neighbours were taking care of the churches, cleaning and repairing any damages out of their genuine interest and love' (interviewee GVRM_1). Interestingly, this kind of affection for heritage although not conforming to AHD (e.g. these neighbours are more likely to view a Byzantine temple as a sacred place rather than as a monument of universal architectural significance) is nonetheless respected by state officials as it is effective in protecting materiality.

Perhaps expectedly, our interviews with the local community suggest that a caring behaviour towards the past and its remains represents only one side of the coin. Another aspect which appears to be quite substantial is community's alienation from local heritage. As implied earlier in this chapter, this is manifested by interviewees' little knowledge of heritage sites, confessions of never having visited key monuments and museums, and narratives describing a general and rather long-lived apathy towards preservation (interviewees CTZ_4; CTZ_5; CTZ_6; CTZ_9; CTZ_11; TRSM_2). Although limited accessibility to certain sites is likely to impede connection to heritage, we observe that in certain occasions physical proximity does not by itself affect visitation particularly (see for instance excerpts 6.9-10).

> 'I was teaching at the high school next to Koumbelidiki Church for six years and all these years, we never visited it with the students…'
>
> Interviewee CTZ_9 [6.9]

> 'Local residents comprise only a tiny percentage of our visitors – even those living in Dispilio Village might have never visited the Ecomuseum. The locals visit us only when they have a guest that will bring here to impress them.'
>
> Interviewee TRSM_2 [6.10]

More severe however is our identification of phenomena of neglect that pose a major threat to vernacular architecture such as private urban residencies. Although neglect can be accidental, caused by physical decay and the lack of legal ownership or the financial means to intervene (interviewees CTZ_2; CTZ_7), there were also reported occasions where neglect was intentional and where damages to protected properties were caused by their owners deliberately, aiming at their declassification and extinction (CTZ_2; CTZ_12; TRSM_3; TRSM_4; see also excerpts 6.11-12).

> 'The owners tie the roof posts and knock them down. Then it is only a matter of time. Once the winter come, rainfalls will destroy the roof so... Every winter one to two houses are falling'.
>
> Interviewee TRSM_3 [6.11]

> 'I know several cases where owners themselves destroyed their mansions. They put them on fire or they gradually cut the beams so the roof started falling and they said "children playing around could be killed". This way they declassified listed buildings. In Argos Orestiko alone, there were 38 listed properties and 11 of them do not exist today. They fell into ruin either by owners' interventions or came to a state of disrepair and were demolished as dangerous/derelict buildings'.
>
> Interviewee CTZ_12 [6.12]

This rather hostile behaviour towards cultural heritage adds to the incidents of vandalism reported by the local Ephorate (e.g. lighting installations at Diocletian walls were recently stolen from the site; interviewee GVRM_5), suggesting that the spectrum of citizens' attitudes towards the past is quite wide and comprises relations that range from active to passive and from affective to unsympathetic. Nevertheless, the aforementioned narratives concern what we defined as 'official' heritage as they revolve around archaeological sites, medieval monuments and those material remains that add to Kastoria's historic fabric. Our overall impression is that the long-standing state control over this particular heritage deprived locals from developing a meaningful interaction with it. Thus, instead of encouraging attachment to heritage, state management apparatus cultivated a culture of 'detachment'. As an academic observed, 'everything is closed to the public because of the ways heritage was and is

perceived. No one ever thought they should be open to the public' (interviewee ACDM_2). This does not mean to attribute full responsibility to local experts, given that these are state-employers who follow and reproduce mentalities and directions of practice that are set centrally. However, it highlights a need for the 'opening' of official heritage to its community, through actions that will promote both physical and mental access to monuments and sites.

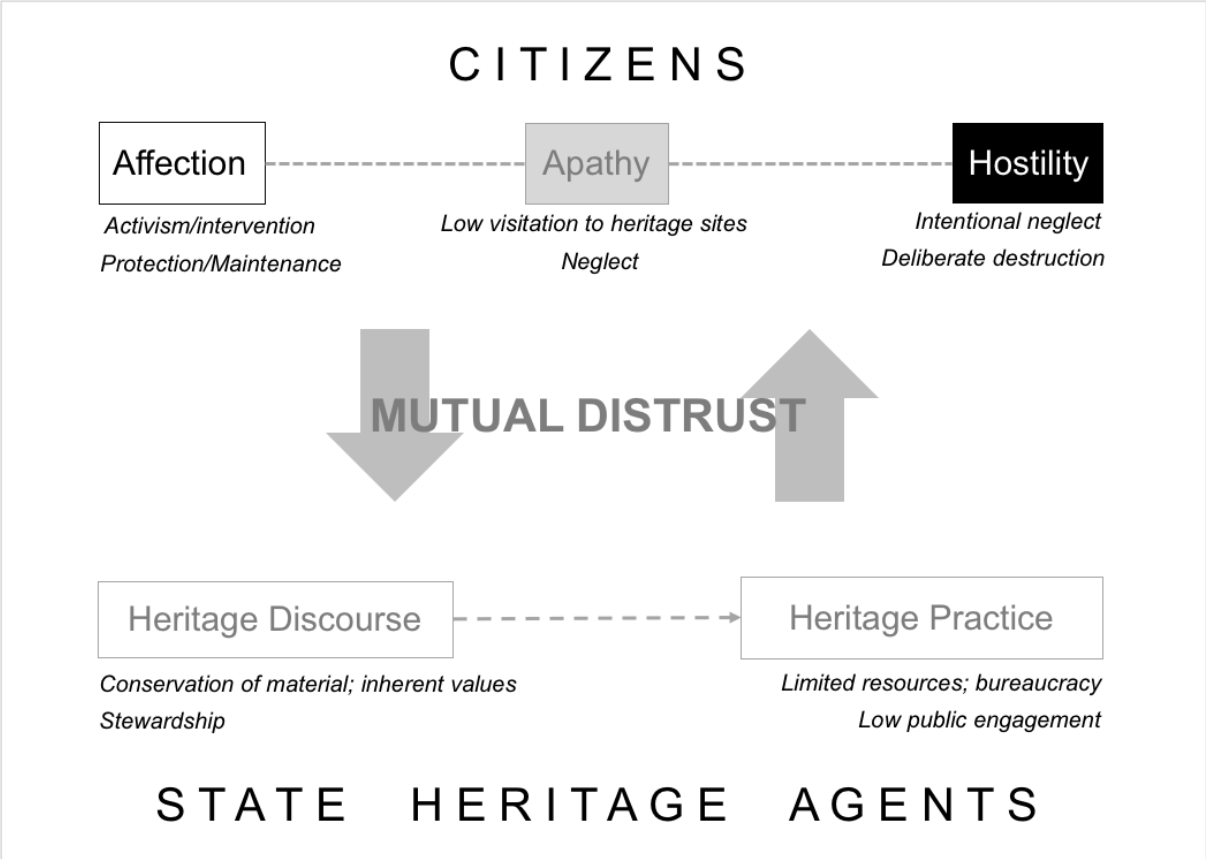

Figure 6.1 Citizens' and heritage experts' attitudes feed reciprocal feelings of distrust.

Overall, our discussions with both state heritage agents and citizens indicate that the relationships between the two parties are far from ideal. Rather, behaviour of both experts and non-experts have given rise to reciprocal feelings of distrust (Figure 6.1). As it has been observed previously, the privilege of expert knowledge and thought over the management of heritage constitutes a key source of conflict between authorities and non-expert communities (Fouseki, 2009). As Waterton (2005) further observes, dissatisfaction from community lack of ownership and its subsequent distrust creates reluctance towards participation. Most crucially, conflictual relationships do not only pose barriers to collaborative approaches to management in the future, but also have detrimental effects to heritage itself in the present

(i.e. unsustainable heritage; see Chapter 5). Thus, the initiation of dialogue between the two sides (experts/non-experts) will be necessary in order to appease frictions and establish mutually beneficial partnerships.

6.4 'Unofficial' heritage and natural landscape in subconscious identity formation

Our interviews with the citizens of Kastoria revealed a strong sentiment of place attachment across respondents of all ages (interviewees CTZ_1; CTZ_3; CTZ_5; CTZ_6; CTZ_8; TRSM_1; TRSM_6). Current residents expressed an aversion to the idea of 'abandoning' their locality despite the harsh socio-economic conditions that prevailed in the region whereas those who had left were reported to maintain their emotional ties by 'returning to their roots' systematically. Interestingly, these discourses feature elements of 'unofficial' heritage, which may be not necessarily conceived as such by interviewees but are nonetheless commonly observed as references of identification with the place and as instruments of communal bonding. Traditional handcrafts, customs and festivities, strong associations with the lake and the natural landscape are prominent socio-cultural characteristics that exist outside the realm of official heritage or in parallel with it.

As it was discussed in Chapter 5, the engagement of the local community with the manufacturing and trade of fur clothing products is believed to date as back as the Byzantine era. Thus, local fur craftsmanship (described by interviewees as '*techne*', a term which in Greek language also translates into 'art') represents an element of local identity that is rooted in the past and has passed on through generations. Even today that fur-related economic activity has been shrined, the Kastorian community continues to identify with it strongly. As a local tourism shop owner described, 'all of us *are* fur manufacturers here. Even if you are a doctor or an academic, you are also a fur manufacturer. Back in our school years, we spent our summer breaks learning the *techne*. Everybody did' (Interviewee TRSM_6; emphasis added). Further, a local furrier suggested that he chose to work on the fur industry 'simply because when you look around at Kastoria, you see the fur. Especially back in the 1970s and 1980s, the whole region was a big fur workshop' (interviewee CTZ_8).

Interestingly, the perception that the fur is part of the local heritage is shared amongst Kastorians mostly subconsciously and is rarely labelled as a 'heritage' element *per se*. Although it is not defined as heritage itself, fur craftsmanship is positioned as the driving force behind local cultural identity and artistic creation. For example, in his portrayal of Kastorians, a non-native tourism entrepreneur described them as friendly and self-confident 'because they used to be fur merchants' (interviewee TRSM_5). Rather commonly, locals attribute the existence and quality of official heritage to their engagement in the fur (interviewees CTZ_2; TRSM_1; TRSM_3), as secular and religious architecture bear elements from around the world, imported to Kastoria by 'cosmopolitan furriers' (interviewee CTZ_11).

Furthermore, the strong connections between fur clothing manufacturing, local identity and heritage do not merely concern the rise of the latter but also extent to its current economic decline. In particular, based on interviewees' accounts, we identify two distinct communal lifestyles (interviewees CTZ_2; CTZ_9; CTZ_11; TRSM_1; ACDM_2). The first describes and criticises the lifestyle of the past, shaped by the lucrative fur industry of its time and its subsequent economic affluence. This period is characterised by extreme consumerism and a desire to modernise at the expense of heritage. Some representative examples are illustrated by excerpts 6.13-14.

> 'Kastoria adopted a consumerist culture because of the high fur income and economic wealth overshadowed its charm. During the 1970s and the 1980s, very few engaged in culture and education. Rather, there was a greedy development, which nearly mashed all traditional and neoclassical buildings'.
>
> Interviewee CTZ_9 [6.13]

> 'When fur manufacturing was lucrative, everybody had money and they didn't care about these things... Exploring the wealth of cultural heritage was not part of their interests'.
>
> Interviewee CTZ_2 [6.14]

Community's *a posteriori* analysis of past lifestyles is framed by implicit feelings of regret, whereas communal behaviour that concerns the present is similarly formed by fur activity

and especially, its market crises and subsequent economic downturn. Some interviewees described this new era as marked by an ideological and psychological turn towards the social, cultural and natural elements that had been neglected and devalued during the previous years. As it is witnessed, in the current period of socio-economic crisis Kastorians try to redefine their identity through the past. Oral testimonies make reference to a change of local ideals and more interestingly, to a turn towards heritage, especially that of vernacular character, such as small family houses that 'ten years ago would have been demolished' (interviewee ACDM_2) and the reappearance of old customs. In particular, oral accounts document that 'during the crisis, traditional customs and folk festivals became more massive. This illustrates people's willingness to return to their roots and to participate in traditional customs, which few years ago they considered obsolete' (interviewee ACDM_2). Further, it is stressed that lately some volunteer groups have made their appearance, which 'organise events, recruit traditional dancing groups, and revive local cultural customs' (interviewee CTZ_7).

In general, traditions and festivities seem to have a prominent place in communal identity formulation (interviewees CTZ_3; CTZ_5; CTZ_6; CTZ_9; TRSM_5; TRSM_7). In spite of the fact that they were hardly mentioned as 'heritage', they constitute grassroots cultural expressions and habits which bear the qualities of inclusiveness and intergenerational continuity (Fouseki & Cassar, 2015), being commonly enjoyed by all locals in the present and transmitted across ages (see for example excerpt 6.15; see also Table 6.1, page 155).

> 'All villages have their festivities [*paniyiria*]. These exhibit some sort of culture, right?'.
>
> Interviewee CTZ_6 [6.15]

Furthermore, elements of natural heritage and especially Orestias Lake are components of the local heritage capital, cited on numerous occasions as elements that contribute to place identity, beauty and uniqueness (interviewees CTZ_5; CTZ_6; CTZ_7; CTZ_9; CTZ_11; GVRM_1; ACDM_2). Particularly the lake appears to have a strong attractive power and as a resident put it, it 'is a factor that keeps many people to Kastoria' (interviewee CTZ_7). Considering that the lake contributes relatively little to the local economy (e.g. in terms of

employment), its pulling trait should lie beyond the realm of material or financial benefits. Indeed, some oral accounts reveal an influence on people's emotions and character that suggest its acting as a psychological stimulus (see for instance excerpt 6.16).

> 'When the wind blows through the lake, it makes you feel different. So, people here are nice and friendly.'
>
> Interviewee TRSM_5 [6.16]

In the past, the lake experienced a fate similar to other types of local heritage (i.e. neglect and deliberate damage; see also Chapter 5). However, recently negligence appears to being replaced by a more caring behaviour and this is reflected by both citizens and local authorities (interviewees GVRM_1; GVRM_3; CTZ_4; CTZ_9). As it is highlighted, 'local authorities now pay much attention to the rehabilitation of the lake. Both them and the public are concerned with it and in citizens' consciousness it is no longer acceptable to litter the lake' (interviewee ACDM_2).

Overall, we observe that although non-expert stakeholders follow an AHD approach in their descriptions of heritage, there are dimensions of heritage that move beyond the realms of monumental and material. These include unofficial heritage practices and natural heritage elements to which community identifies strongly. Such relationship contrasts descriptions of the top-down classified elements of heritage, where some alienation and a less intimate expression of feelings are observed. As Mydland & Crahn (2012) suggest, communities often preserve heritage elements that lack national significance driven by motivations that differ from those of experts, for instance, to maintain common social bonds and identity. This makes our further investigation into the drivers of community participation particularly relevant and instrumental in informing strategies for instigating community-inclusive collaborations (see Chapter 7).

6.5 Community sentiment towards the political status quo

Apart from feelings of distrust between citizens and state heritage experts, there is an intense sentiment of discontent on behalf of citizens towards government authorities. Although

community interviews were conducted during a transitional period (namely, shortly after regional and municipal elections that entailed a change of political leadership), dissatisfaction was expressed as the result of a chronic and rather static situation of poor governance. In particular, we observe that feelings of distrust stem from citizens' belief that government policies exhibit incompetence, ignorance and arbitrariness (interviewees CTZ_7; CTZ_9; CTZ_10; CTZ_12; TRSM_1; TRSM_3; TRSM_4; TRSM_5) and/or citizens' view of politicians as opportunists and corrupted (interviewees CTZ_7; CTZ_9; CTZ_11; CTZ_12; TRSM_1; TRSM_5). Further, oral testimonies provide accounts of authorities' indifferent behaviour towards community issues and by extension, towards citizens themselves (interviewees CTZ_4; CTZ_5; CTZ_7; TRSM_1; TRSM_5).

First, citizens reported that local administration was characterised by low planning skills and by lack of meritocracy. Interestingly, these opinions were voiced more strongly by those who engaged professionally in heritage and/or heritage tourism (interviewees TRSM_1, TRSM_3; TRSM_4; TRSM_5). Local authorities were generally described as people with little knowledge of the tourism market, lacking the capacity to visualize and work towards a long-term plan for tourism development. Such arguments were often supported by vivid examples; an arts festival held to celebrate Kastoria's history, which was 'ridiculous and dull', cultural events 'organised by ignorant people' that were failing to capture the essence of local heritage, and the design of cultural routes in a 'sketchy way' that had little success and short-lived application.

More concerning though were citizens' accusations of political opportunism, acting against public benefit. Local residents expressed a long-standing mentality of clientelistic relationships between governors and citizens and an exclusive focus on self-interests that had detrimental effects on heritage and society (interviewees CTZ_7; CTZ_10; CTZ_11; CTZ_12). The expression of these feelings was at times particularly intense (see excerpts 6.17-18, page 168) and specific examples were again brought to the table to demonstrate the points made. For instance, the development of a visitor reception by the lakeside was reported as an irregularity that distorted part of the natural landscape so that someone 'could make money'. Moreover, a donation to the municipality for the development of a museum was 'embezzled'

whereas the commissioning of modern art for public exhibition in times of crisis was viewed as a 'mockery' towards a suffering community.

> 'Those who govern should leave and be replaced by people who love this place more than their pockets!'
>
> Interviewee CTZ_7 [6.17]

> 'No one from the local authorities is truly interested. They are just chasing votes. I don't know anyone being interested! Everybody acts in their own self-interest!'
>
> Interviewee CTZ_12 [6.18]

In addition, several narratives revealed a collective perception that politicians disregarded citizens in their exercising of power. This combined with all the aforementioned beliefs against local government have cast a shadow of disempowerment over citizen sentiment, that can be visualised as a 'gap' between those that shape policy and those affected by it, which is almost 'impossible to bridge' (interview CTZ_11). As a local resident confessed, 'I have written plenty of times to the city council. I have formally submitted complain forms with protocol numbers but I have never received a single reply. This is contempt for the citizen!' (interviewee CTZ_4). Similar disappointment was expressed by another community representative, who stated that in Kastoria 'things have got worse in terms of the way citizens are treated. They [meaning the political leadership] do not see them. Nothing is progressing, everything is static, nothing changes' (interviewee TRSM_5).

Thus, we observe a disdain for the political status quo in citizens' collective consciousness. It is opined that this sentiment is deeply rooted in a long-standing political culture that draws from past 'traditions', namely experiences of government ineffectiveness, and is perpetuated in contemporary reality (Bevir, 2013). As a council member commented 'the label "politician" is not good in Greece' (GVRM_1), implying citizens' scepticism towards the motives, abilities and goals of those residing with political power. This does not mean to suggest that allegations of government inefficiency and irresponsiveness to local community matters are not substantiated, but that the high generalised distrust and citizenry disempowerment could exaggerate the expression of dissatisfaction towards the local political realm. In any case, it

would be wrong to assume that the phenomenon of alienation between citizens and governors observed in Kastoria is place-specific (for instance, Chalari, 2012 empirically reports a general lack of trust towards politicians across the Greek society). Yet, it is a fact that can add to complexity of achieving collaborative action and public participation in the first place.

Furthermore, it should be noted that despite interviewees' critical assessment of past and current administrative and management policies as ineffective in tackling local issues in a commonly-beneficial way, there was a gap between the realisation of problems and the articulation of their solutions. Rather, citizen attitudes were in quite a few occasions ideologically inconsistent as in their statements, the otherwise indifferent and inefficient structures of governance were nonetheless primarily responsible to reverse the current situation (interviewees CTZ_1; CTZ_4; CTZ_5; CTZ_6). For the political leadership, in particular, it was stated that '*they*' needed to come up with solutions as this was the reason 'they were elected' (interviewee CTZ_1; emphasis added). The latter implies that political leaders are expected to act because they – in contrast to citizenry - hold the power to influence policy. Thus, the inability to translate disappointment for the present situation into an alternative course of collective action on behalf of citizens is probably affected by their current state of disempowerment. As Dietz and Burns (1992) explain, community actors can gain agency only if they have the power to make a difference for society.

6.6 Beyond pessimism: Crisis, reflexivity and heritage as drivers of social transformation

As this chapter discussed, our interview data revealled a wide spectrum of community attitudes towards heritage, ranging from caring to hostile. Existing ideological divisions (e.g. official/unofficial) were instrumental in defining heritage management policy and by extension the ways through which different stakeholders engaged with it at the time of the study. State experts were privileged whereas their high concern for protection combined with their limited availability of human and financial resources made material conservation the ultimate goal in its own right that overrode other dimensions of heritage management, such as communication and engagement with the broader public. Thus, the 'opening' of official heritage to its community, through actions that promote both physical and mental access to monuments and sites will be a major step for making official heritage more inclusive and for

easing existing tensions between experts and citizens. This might require from experts to compromise their anxiety for conservation of material and intrinsic values, yet the long-term gains of this supposed 'trade-off' can be particularly rewarding. Given present circumstances, a collectively caring behaviour for the past and its remains, advanced by strong personal and communal associations with heritage, will be vital for its safeguarding and enhancement. Therefore, inclusion rather than exclusion might be the only way forward.

Moreover, our data showed that citizens' psychological state was marked by a general feeling of disappointment with regards to the present and future of Kastoria. As discussed, this was often expressed as anger and negativism towards the local political leadership, to which citizens appeared to assign the highest responsibility. Admittedly, Kastoria is no longer the affluent community it used to be; on the contrary, it is an area severely hit by economic crisis and unemployment. In face of these radical economic alterations, interviewees expressed depressed emotions of a static situation that '[was] not going to change' (interviewees CTZ_1; CTZ_4; CTZ_7; TRSM_5). However interestingly, we observed that citizens did not put the blame exclusively on the dysfunctions of the local political system but rather they were coming to realise their own/collective share of responsibility to past mistakes that shaped current circumstances (interviewees CTZ_2; CTZ_4; CTZ_9; TRSM_1). According to these narratives, unsustainable practices of the past were gradually being abandoned, and consumerism or desire for material wealth was being replaced by measure as 'the ideals of Kastorians [had] changed' (interviewee TRSM_1). Further, it was reported that 'a turn arises towards cultural activities' and 'endeavours to invest in culture' (interviewee CTZ_9).

Based on social theory, such reflexivity presupposes the capacity to place oneself within society (Archer, 2007; Giddens, 1991), viewing it as part of a whole, namely a community that shapes and is shaped by some common sets of norms and values. Thus, it appears that we deal with a local community that displays a critical reflection of their collective contribution to unsustainable practices. According to Giddens (1991), this reflective process is a step towards personal and communal transformations. The local community of Kastoria seems to produce a response to economic change personally and (rather subconsciously) collectively, expressed as an alteration of the ways of thinking and potentially acting. This response can form the basis for the gradual transformation of those structures (e.g. economic, governance)

that are no longer relevant to their present and future circumstances, eventually leading to social change (Silbereisen et al. 2007; Chalari, 2012). The latter can drive adjustments to the new socio-economic and socio-political reality of the place, including new directions for development (i.e. sustainable heritage tourism) and new approaches to planning and decision-making (namely, pluralist and collaborative).

However, for these transformations to happen and in order to make participation meaningful, it will be necessary to first change local 'traditions' and perceptions that relate to the role of heritage, citizens, politicians and experts (Bevir, 2013). Parallel to this, it will be important to increase community's capacity to aspire (Appadurai, 2013). Such capacity implies the collective ability to visualise a better future, before engaging in its shaping and assertion. As with any other community, Kastorians negotiated with their present based on their personal and collective experiences, whereas they also used these for interpreting their future. As a citizen confessed 'all [she] knew since [she] was born' was that the local economy was based on fur manufacturing, which rendered it impossible for her 'thinking of any other alternative' (interviewee CTZ_3). If this attitude permeates one's personal circumstances, it is extremely likely that it will also influence their stance towards broader community issues. It will be thus necessary for the community to stop feeling 'trapped' in its current circumstances. Based on Appadurai (2013), it makes sense to suggest that a collective capacity to aspire will be instrumental in navigating community members outside the maze of present obstacles and commonly decide their vision and aspirations for the development of their place. A further discussion on these issues is provided in Chapter 9, whereas the next chapter analyses community drivers to participate.

CHAPTER 7

Drivers of participation: Exploring the factors that shape community intentions for getting involved

7.1 Introduction

Although the literature largely advocates for citizen-inclusive collaborative approaches to heritage tourism planning, there is still little knowledge of how policymakers and practitioners can approach and engage communities in decision-making effectively (Ashley et al., 2015). At the same time, community willingness to participate is somewhat taken for granted in scholarly work, despite the fact that such involvement will demand for time and effort on behalf of all parties (Crooke, 2008). Assuming that citizens would be eager to take on an active role in policy matters could be refuted by reality, as engaging in planning issues can entail protracted processes and activities that most individuals would rather avoid (Irvin and Stansbury, 2004). Thus, it is vital to first establish that there are community members and sections of the public who are interested to participate in heritage tourism planning and then to identify the elements that drive their interest. As Fan (2013) and Perkin (2010) argue, increasing our understanding of community incentives is a valuable step before embarking on community-driven projects.

Situated within the aforementioned ideas, this chapter draws from our empirical survey data to explore the profile of citizen involvement advocates and discuss the elements that hold the capacity to influence intentions for participation in the context of Kastoria. In particular, heritage values, perceptions of tourism impacts, and factors that revolve around community and civic ideals are examined in relation to respondents' willingness to participate. Further, community attitudes are examined in relation to demographic information in order to identity whether personal circumstances, such as education and employment, alter intentions for participation across different community clusters and by extension, the drivers that influence

their behaviour. The latter are also deconstructed with the view to explore in which sections of society are these values and ideals mostly relevant.

7.2 Overview of the sample

Based on the population of Kastoria region (50,322 residents) and Krejcie and Morgan's (1970) sample size determination matrix, any sample of minimum 381 responses can be considered representative. It is therefore safe to argue that our sample provides an accurate portrayal of host community attitudes given that the number of valid responses collected for statistical analysis was 665. In particular, the sample consisted of 53.1 per cent male and 46.9 per cent female respondents, whose median age ranged from 35 to 44 years. In their vast majority (91%) survey participants held at least a high school diploma, 51.9% were full-time employed and 63.9% had lived in Kastoria for more than two decades. A detailed overview of the demographic profile of respondents can be found in Appendix E.

In terms of responses, survey statistics show a generally high appreciation for local heritage across the host community whereas assessments of official and unofficial heritage are quite interesting. More specifically, we observe that statements which concern the material heritage that is officially recognized as significant (e.g. archaeological remains and medieval sites) exhibit little differentiation in responses (i.e. commonly ranked high/very high). In contrast, statements that refer to intangible and/or more folk elements (e.g. the local traditional carnival) display greater variation (i.e. from very low to very high). Such findings comply with our earlier observation that non-experts adopt official narratives in their accounts of 'what is heritage' (see Chapter 6). As we opined, the valuation of *de facto* significant heritage resources has its origins in Authorised Heritage Discourses (Smith, 2006), whereas 'unconventional' heritage elements (e.g. quotidian, immaterial) are rarely assigned with the 'heritage' label in official policy and subsequently in community accounts despite being part of local identity. A high distribution of responses is also observed for statements that concern the heritage of the Ottoman period, as its material remains are not recognized as monuments ubiquitously. For instance, 34.5 per cent of respondents approved the

destruction of Mathioudakis building, which we discussed in Section 6.3 (see Chapter 6), suggesting community tension and internal dispute[1].

As far as tourism perceptions are concerned, the general picture of survey responses relating to tourism statements, suggests that respondents have a positive attitude towards Kastoria's potential to develop its heritage tourism offer further. Optimism for high positive and low negative tourism effects reaffirms Reid et al. (2004) who maintain that the hosts of immature destinations can visualise tourism benefits more easily compared to tourism costs. Yet, for about a quarter of the sample such capacity to visualise was somewhat limited in terms of failing to extend to confidence in tourism as generator of broader spill-over effects. For example, 27.9 per cent of survey participants held that tourism-led economic benefits are ripped exclusively by those employed in the tourism industry whereas 25.4 per cent of respondents were deeply sceptical about tourism potential to resolve local unemployment.

Perhaps more interesting are results relating to community-relevant statements. One of the main themes that emerged from our interview data was a strong feeling of place attachment (see Chapter 6). In particular, our survey results demonstrate that this feeling is prevalent across the local community as 79.7 per cent of participants identified strongly with the statement 'I personally feel deeply connected to Kastoria'. Positive reactions were even greater (89.6%) to the statement 'I would like to help Kastoria and offer something to this place'. Intriguingly, a striking contrast to place affection was found for community cohesion, where as much as 47.8 per cent of respondents replied negatively to the statement 'I feel that Kastorians are tight to each other', whereas merely 5.2 per cent of the sample agreed with it strongly. Another worth-noting point relates to a statement which argued that citizen participation in heritage tourism planning 'would have little impact due to the political status quo' to which a significant segment of the sample agreed (i.e. 39.1%). As it was discussed in the previous chapter, a considerable part of Kastorian community is characterised by citizens' disappointment and felt disempowerment (see Section 6.5). It will be thus extremely interesting to see whether such past experiences affect current intentions for participation.

[1] As we discussed in the previous chapter, Mathioudakis building was rescued from demolition by citizen heritage activists and later assigned the monument status by the state. However, during the time of the survey, the case was still open as state decision was pending and demolition was on hold.

When asked whether they would be willing to participate in collaborative planning for heritage tourism development, the majority of respondents replied positively. In particular, the distribution of responses was 63.2 per cent in favour and 36.8 per cent against personal participation (Figure 7.1). In their vast majority, respondents with positive intentions for participation exhibited a high willingness to contribute specifically to heritage matters, reflected by 88.6 per cent of them stating their interest to be involved in the design of activities that would promote local heritage. Further, 68.6 per cent expressed a desire to be involved in the practical application of a heritage tourism plan, 61.4 per cent in setting the directions for heritage tourism development and 50.5 per cent in monitoring the plan during its application. These results indicate that community members are somewhat more interested in 'hands-on' action with regards to tourism development (i.e. implementation) as compared to *pre-* (i.e. setting the directions) and *post-planning* elements (i.e. overseeing progress).

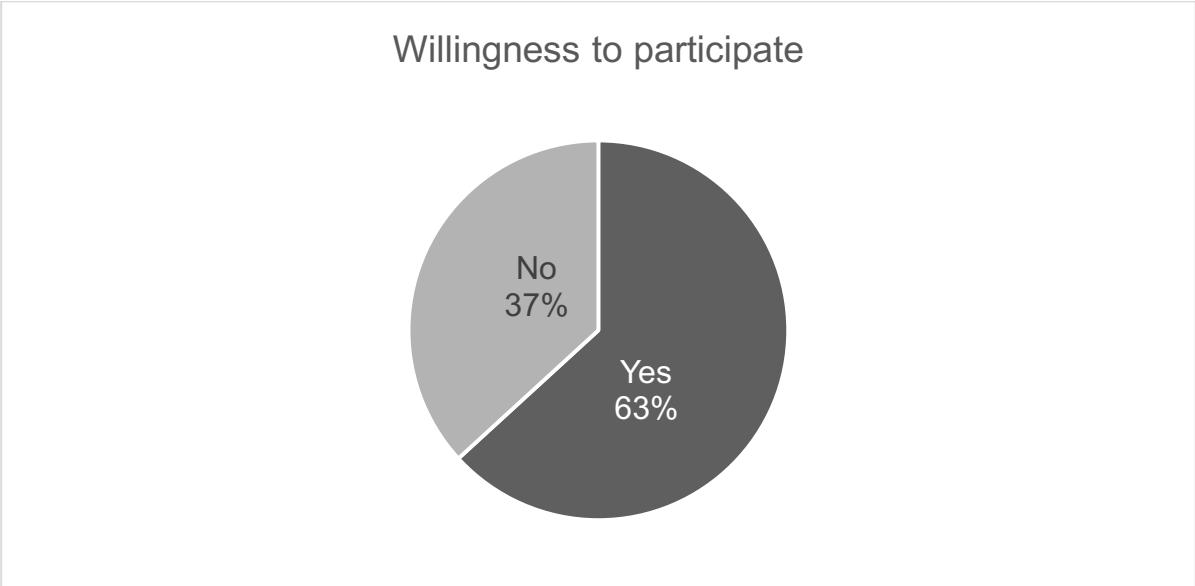

Figure 7.1 Sample distribution based on intentions to participate in heritage tourism planning.

In parallel, respondents with negative intentions for participation stated lack of time (53.9%), an inability to understand how they could contribute (50.6%), lack of personal knowledge and skills (46.5%) and lack of 'faith' that their contribution will be meaningful (43.3%) as the main reason(s) behind their refusal (see Figure 7.2, page 176). Beyond the options provided by the survey, a minority of respondents further explained their demotivation as stemming from

physical distance/access issues, their lack of interest in heritage or in community-based action, and their feeling of disappointment (either political or resulting from past experiences of involvement).

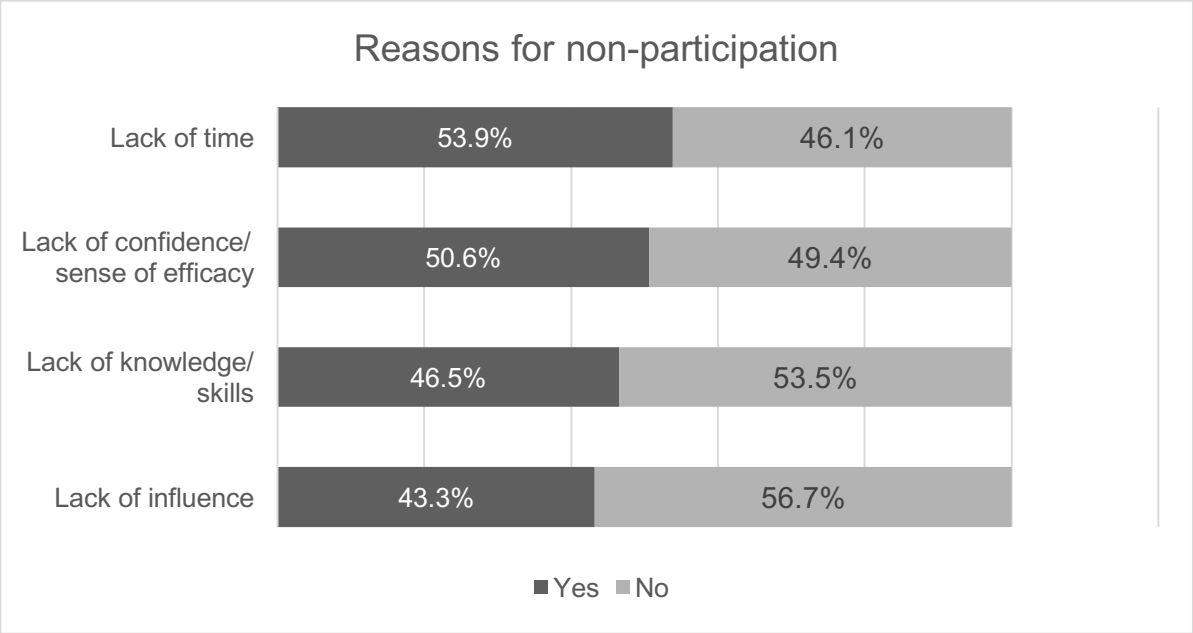

Figure 7.2 Reasons stated as discouraging respondents' participation.

Although these preliminary findings are interesting, it is necessary to explore them more deeply by employing statistical analysis tools that will help us deconstruct the drivers that shape or alter behaviour towards collaborative action (see Section 4.5.2, in Chapter 4). Thus, the following paragraphs provide a more comprehensive exploration of survey data with the view to illuminate important pieces in the puzzle of community participation.

7.3 Profiling the willing and the unwilling

Based on respondents' demographic information, their declared intentions for participation and the use of non-parametric tests, we can identify which sub-groups of the local community exhibit a higher and lower willingness to be involved in heritage tourism planning. In short, we find that behaviour was differentiated significantly among respondents of different gender, educational background (based on level and discipline), employment and occupation status (i.e. tourism or non-tourism related). More interestingly, we observe that heterogeneity with regards to participation was significantly influenced by experience with

the place, as shaped by location and years of stay at Kastoria, and community attachment, as reflected by membership to local associations, formal or informal involvement in activities that promote heritage and engagement in communal action (Table 7.1).

Variable	Clusters	Test statistic
Gender	*Males/Females*	-2.129**, a
Age	*18-24; 25-34; 35-44; 45-54; 55-64; 65+*	3.297[b]
Underage Children	*Yes/No*	-1.378[a]
General education	*Jr high diploma or lower; High school diploma; Technical Diploma; Graduate degree; Post-Graduate degree*	32.203***, b
Relevant education	*Yes/No*	-3.141**, a
Employment status	*Unemployed; Student; Full-time employee; Part-time employee; Family/housework; Retired*	18.018**, b
Heritage-related employment	*Yes/No*	-.822[a]
Tourism-related employment	*Yes/No*	-.3.222***, a
Household income	*< €5,000; < €10,000; < €20,000; < €30,000; > €30,000 (annually)*	4.897[b]
Place of birth	*Kastoria/elsewhere*	-.127[a]
Place of permanent residence	*Kastoria/elsewhere*	-.545[a]
Type of residence	*Traditional or listed building/conventional accommodation*	-.303[a]
Place of residence (i.e. Specific area of residence/work)	*Outside Kastoria; Historic centre; New city neighbourhoods; Towns-villages close to key heritage sites; Towns-villages remote to key heritage sites*	13.719***, b
Length of stay	*<1yr; <5yrs; <10yrs; <20yrs; 5: >20yrs*	8.505*, b
Association membership	*Yes/No*	-4.562***, a
Other formal/informal involvement in heritage	*Yes/No*	-9.983***, a
Communal activity	*Yes/No*	-6.272***, a

Notes:
For nominal variables, we ran Mann-Whitney tests whereas for categorical variables we employed the Kruskal-Wallis test. Thus, *a* denotes Mann-Whitney z-statistics, *b* denotes Kruskal-Wallis Chi-square statistics.
*, **, *** denote significance at 10%, 5%, and 1%, respectively.

Table 7.1 Demographic characteristics and their influence on intentions for participation.

In particular, women were found to be more willing to participate than men. The effect of gender on intentions for involvement could stem from different personal preferences between female and male respondents that relate to communal activity. For instance, Browne (1995) reports that women exhibit a highest appreciation of connection and collective good values. Variance was also observed across different education levels, with the highly educated (i.e. those holding a diploma or university degree) to exhibit a higher willingness to participate and respondents at lower education levels (i.e. up to high-school) to display the lowest intentions across community. These results signal a correlation between higher qualifications and participation, which might relate to both learnt (namely, actual) and felt resources, such as confidence to be involved (Brodie et al., 2011; Frank & Smith, 2000). Likewise, those whose education related to heritage and/or tourism were found to be significantly more willing to participate than those with no relevant education.

Time resources were also observed to be particularly influential in determining intentions for participation. More specifically, students, part-time employees and retired members of the community were the most willing to participate as compared to other employment statuses, such as the fully employed and housewives. At the same time, those in unemployment also showed little desire for involvement, which in this case could relate to limited financial resources (Brodie et al., 2011) or psychological factors, such as unsuccessful professional experiences (Alesina & La Ferrara, 2002) that might discourage individuals from taking on a more active role in their community. It is also interesting to note that those whose employment related to tourism showed significantly more willingness to take part in planning compared to individuals in other occupations. This finding is plausible given that tourism-based professionals have higher stakes in heritage tourism planning and development.

Apart from factors that related to one's personal circumstances and resources, we also observe strong effects from variables that related to place and community attachment. For instance, the geographical location of respondents, which reflected proximity to places of high heritage and heritage tourism interest, was instrumental in community attitudes towards involvement. More specifically, we observe that those who resided within the historic districts of Kastoria Town or at places peripheral to Orestias Lake were significantly more positive towards the potential of being personally involved in heritage tourism planning

compared to those residing at more distant locations. Researchers such as Sharma and Dyer (2009) propose that location and proximity to places of high tourism interest affect host community behaviour given that they determine ones' tourism stakes and the degree to which their daily lives are interrupted by tourism development, such as their access to heritage and other public or common-pool resources appropriated by the tourism industry (Ostrom, 1990). In this light, it will be interesting to further explore whether physical proximity to heritage sites also affects attachment to it (see Section 7.7).

Beyond physical proximity, felt proximity and by extension one's connection with the place (measured by length of residence) was another significant variable with regards to participation, although their relationship was more complicated given that it exhibited a U-shaped instead of a linear pattern. More specifically, our data suggest that those who had spent too little (less than five years) and too much time (more than 20 years) at Kastoria were the most willing to participate (in contrast to groups between 5-20 years). Based on previous work, it is plausible to suggest that more experience with a place increases attachment to community while it enhances both the functional and affective bonds that individuals develop with a place (Gross & Brown, 2006). On the other hand, those that were relatively new to a locality may felt the desire to create such bonds. However, as the literature suggests place attachment by itself does not increase social participation (Hays & Kogl, 2007; Wu, 2012), which can explain the 'gap' identified here between the two extremes.

Finally, we find a strong relevance between current structures of engagement and attitudes towards participation in collaborative planning. In essence, our results suggest that individuals with membership of local cultural associations, those who had some formal or informal experience with involvement in heritage activities, and those who they otherwise engaged in communal causes (e.g. through volunteer groups), showed a significantly positive differentiation in favour of participation as compared to all other respondents. This affirms the argument of Brodie et al. (2011) that current structures of collective or communal activities can form a fertile ground for approaching communities given that prior experiences positively predispose individuals towards joint action. Community associations are believed to enhance social bonds and a sense of community, which in turn can ease cooperation to the resolution of collective problems (Theiss-Morse & Hibbings, 2005).

In short, out of the seventeen demographic features considered, ten of them altered respondents' preferences for participation significantly. The next section continues by exploring the drivers that shaped these preferences, while observing how their influence changed across different demographic segments.

7.4 Heritage values as drivers to participation: What matters and for who?

In Chapter 3, heritage values were defined as socially formulated meanings and qualities ascribed to the past and its remains (Mason, 2002). These qualities are dynamic and may be accepted or rejected by particular community groups and individuals in a particular period of time, within the process of heritage-making (Smith, 2009). Yet, independently of the nature of these values, it is plausible to assume that the more values are acknowledged by a community, the higher the community members' desire to preserve them and manage them (Hypothesis H1, see Section 1.3). This assumes the existence of a direct positive effect from heritage values to community willingness to participate (WTP). However, interestingly, our empirical investigation of the said relationship suggests that such a hypothesis is over-simplistic as in reality, the interplay between values and WTP is much more complex and multifaceted.

More specifically, our full sample estimations lend little support to the assumption that the more people 'value' heritage, the more they will be willing to engage in its management. This is because we find that merely the values of *emblematic and accessible* heritage (HER3) had a positive effect on the WTP of our respondents. In contrast, *inherent* (HER1), *resistance to change* (HER4) and *educational/use* values (HER5) played no significant part in driving participation whereas, heritage traits relating to *collective identity and memory* (HER2) had a negative effect on respondents' intentions for participation (see Table 7.2, page 181; a detailed description of factor components can be found in Chapter 4 and Appendix C). Such findings reveal that the nature of heritage values does in fact play a critical role in defining their effect on community attitudes.

	WTP	WTP	WTP	WTP
Constant	.564***	.566***	.585***	.610***
Heritage values				
HER 1: Inherent values	.147*			-.155
HER 2: Collective identity & Memory	-.040			-.321***
HER 3: Emblematic & accessible	.339***			.221**
HER 4: Resistance to change	.257**			.071
HER 5: Educational & use values	.153*			.003
Perceptions of tourism				
TOUR 1: High positive effects		.139*		-.196
TOUR 2: Low negative effects		.040		-.022
TOUR 3: Scope for development		.479***		.151
Community ideals				
COM1: Participation values			.317***	.609***
COM2: Altruism & attachment			.580***	.678***
COM3: Collective power			.296**	.254***
COM4: Citizenry role & cohesion			.236*	.176
R Squared	.068	.075	.154	.211
Notes: *Results are based on Equation ($WTP_j = \alpha + \beta_i HER_j + \gamma_i TOUR_j + \delta_i COM_j + e_j$)* *, **, *** denote significance at 10%, 5%, 1%, respectively.				

Table 7.2 Factors driving community willingness to participate, based on full sample regression analysis.

Interestingly, we observe that collective identity values, which discouraged participation in heritage tourism planning, associate with heritage elements that were defined in Chapter 6 as 'unofficial' heritage. As it was argued based on interview data, non-expert community felt sentimentally 'closer' to informal heritage practices and sites (i.e. fur craftsmanship, civil war remains and traditional customs). In this light, the negative relationship of HER2 on WTP may be interpreted as a community attitude to protect this heritage from tourism appropriation and commodification that could cause an undesirable cultural change (Nyaupane et al., 2006; Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009). Another possible explanation is that community intuition saw 'unofficial' heritage as having minor tourism interest and thus the values assigned to it as irrelevant to tourism involvement. In contrast, HER3 component statements, which related to the most emblematic sites of official heritage (e.g. the historic districts of Kastoria Town and the Byzantine monuments) had a significantly positive effect in driving participation. Affection for this particular heritage, expressed by respondents' high appreciation and desire to interact with it, encouraged their intentions to be involved in the planning of tourism.

However, considering that communities are not homogeneous entities (Ladkin & Bertramini, 2002; Svensson, 2009), we need to distinguish community sub-groups and examine how a particular set of values might be relevant to different sections of Kastoria's society[2]. Indeed, when we input sub-sample data in our regression model a different picture is obtained (see Table 7.3, page 183-4). For example, we find that inherent values (HER1), which appeared to be generally insignificant drivers for WTP, exerted a strong positive influence on those with relevant education (i.e. heritage experts). A reverse relationship is observed for respondents without such educational background (i.e. non-experts), for whom it these values acted as inhibitors to active involvement. This evidence is of particular interest as it confirms that inherent values not only fall ideologically into Smith's (2006) concept of Authorised Heritage Discourses (see Chapter 6), but also that they are quite powerful in promoting (self-)exclusion for those who do not have the knowledge capital to serve them. Thus, it is perhaps not hyperbolic to suggest that citizens' participation may be viewed as a liability to the material conservation and management of official heritage, not merely by heritage professionals (Waterton & Smith, 2010) but also in collective consciousness.

Similar dichotomies are evident for collective identity and memory values (HER2), which had an overall negative impact on respondents. Yet, we observe that this inverse effect applied only to those living close to places of high heritage tourism interest (e.g. in historic districts or near the lake), to those who had lived in the area for more than two decades, to non-experts, and to non-tourism professionals. As Mydland and Grahn (2012) propose, communities are mobilized to safeguard heritage mostly by a desire to reinforce social ties and communal practices. Notably, these values were mostly recreated by 'unofficial' heritage resources, to which Kastorian community appeared to relate more strongly (see Section 6.4, Chapter 6). For this particular heritage, tourism could be seen as an antagonistic force that could lead to a clash between its safeguarding and its commercial appropriation (Wang & Bramwell, 2012). The latter could cause community displacement and the disruption of heritage landscape and traditions (Suntikul & Jachna, 2013), which might explain why these values discouraged participation in heritage tourism planning.

[2] Sub-groups are selected based on those demographic and personal characteristics of respondents that were found to alter WTP significantly (see section 7.2).

WTP										
Subsamples / Components	Gender		General education[a]			Relevant education		Employment status[b]		
	Males	*Females*	*Jr High*	*High*	*Higher*	*No*	*Yes*	*PT*	*FT*	*UN*
Constant	.558***	.780***	2.036	.321**	.992***	.558***	2.166***	1.068***	.697***	.326
Heritage values										
HER 1: Inherent values	-.498***	.212	2.194	-.279	-.304	-.309**	2.208***	.394	-.555***	-.261
HER 2: Collective identity & Memory	-.663***	-.089	-6.723*	-.310	-.732***	-.330**	-.196	-.129	-.912***	-.073
HER 3: Emblematic & accessible	.134	.293*	.983	.215	.337**	.191*	.366	.205	.100	.519**
HER 4: Resistance to change	-.021	.175	6.699*	-.116	.071	.025	.608	.235	-.083	-.103
HER 5: Educational & use values	.107	-.008	-2.864*	-.257	.103	-.091	1.039***	.451*	-.092	-.280
Tourism perceptions										
TOUR 1: High positive effects	.245	-.759***	-16.774*	.197	-.321	-.197	-.380	-.837**	.153	-.631*
TOUR 2: Low negative effects	.136	-.242	-14.789**	.015	.413***	-.058	-.027	-.274	.210	-.276
TOUR 3: Scope for development	.200	.166	-.941	.275	0.11	.135	.738*	.532**	-.076	.255
Community ideals										
COM1: Participation values	.435**	.847***	17.939*	.487**	.898***	.788***	-2.286***	.869**	.707***	1.036***
COM2: Altruism & attachment	.891***	.521***	13.249*	.348**	1.094***	.681***	.588	.031	1.210***	.713***
COM3: Collective power	.155	.498***	.948	.041	.362**	.303***	-1.613***	.711***	.332**	.028
COM4: Citizenry role & cohesion	.113	.296*	3.797*	.375**	.120	.250**	-.533	-.270	.307**	.367*
R Squared	.251	.251	.737	.140	.304	.233	.500	.301	.262	.300

Table 7.3 Attitudinal factors driving willingness to participate based on demographic subsamples (continues in next page).

WTP											
Subsamples / Components	TRSM employee		Location[c]		Length of stay			Association member		Involved in HRTG	
	No	*Yes*	*Near*	*Distant*	*0-5yrs*	*6-20yrs*	*>20yrs*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*
Constant	.531***	1.015***	.877***	.265	4.746***	.375*	.742***	.367***	2.394***	-.038	2.096***
Heritage values											
HER 1: Inherent values	-.279**	.524	-.240	.123	-2.333*	.203	-.482***	-.237*	.264	-.179	-.123
HER 2: Collective identity	-.328**	-.379	-.478***	-.048	0.34	-.125	-.563***	-.352***	-1.593***	-.231	-.199
HER 3: Emblematic & access.	.254**	.258	.355***	.070	-1.869**	.513**	.305**	.065	.618	.129	.506**
HER 4: Resistance to change	.009	.410	-.073	.229	-3.040*	.449*	-.149	.225**	-1.521***	-.012	-.532*
HER 5: Educational & use	-.053	.046	.014	.073	0.27	.151	-.094	.140	-.600	.123	-.037
Tourism perceptions											
TOUR 1: High positive effects	-.212	-.211	-.303	-.285	3.709**	-.270	-.213	-.109	-0.93	-.042	-.772**
TOUR 2: Low negative effects	.086	-.723**	.021	-.247	4.821***	.417*	-.220*	0.33	-.609*	.185	-.516*
TOUR 3: Scope for dvlp	.289**	-.077	.114	.282	3.980**	.300	.021	.108	.586	.262	-.032
Community ideals											
COM1: Participation values	.704***	.390	.924***	.465*	-3.538**	.506	.978***	.474***	1.326***	.331*	.779**
COM2: Altruism & attachment	.715***	.793**	.705***	.556***	3.524**	.245	.831***	.748***	.924**	.722***	.750***
COM3: Collective power	.142	.357	.383***	.180	2.372*	.566**	.319***	0.87	.809***	.087	.458**
COM4: Citizenry role/cohesion	.210**	-.021	.264**	.038	-.070	-.263	.356***	.133	.532*	.198	-.067
R Squared	.234	.247	.235	.195	.760	.290	.252	.192	.595	.204	.279

Notes: *This table presents the results of Equation 1 ($WTP_j = \alpha + \beta_i HER_j + \gamma_i TOUR_j + \delta_i COM_j + e_j$)*
*, **, *** denote significance at 10%, 5%, 1%, respectively.
a: Subsample clusters consist of respondents at Junior High or lower (Jr High), High School (High), and Diploma, Bachelors, Masters or higher (Higher) levels of education.
b: Subsample clusters consist of respondents who are Students, Part-time employees, Retired (PT), Full-time employees (FT), Unemployed and Housewives (UN).
c: Subsample clusters consist of respondents who either live in close proximity to (Near) or to remotely from (Distant) areas of high heritage tourism interest.

Table 7.3 (continued) Attitudinal factors driving willingness to participate based on demographic subsamples.

Likewise, emblematic and accessible values (HER3), which were generally positive drivers to community WTP exerted no influence on respondents from distant locations and those who had lived less than five years in the area. Such differentiation across community sub-groups may illustrate a link between place attachment and proximity to heritage, which is examined later in the chapter (see Section 7.7).

7.5 Tourism effects as rather 'weak' motivators

As it is argued in the literature, local stakeholders show a more favourable attitude towards tourism development when they can derive benefits from it (Nunkoo & Ramkinsson, 2011; Vargas-Sanchez et al., 2010). Further, it is argued that community involvement in heritage is not altruistic in nature but rather conditional to anticipated trade-offs between efforts and rewards for participation (Crooke, 2008). Based on these premises, a reasonable hypothesis to test is whether these assertions still hold when combined, namely whether expectations of positive tourism impacts motivate willingness to participate in heritage tourism planning, as a way to influence policy towards the realisation of expected tourism development gains (Hypothesis H2).

However, our empirical results suggest that such assumption is not valid in the context of our studied community. More specifically, our full sample analysis reveals that expectations of tourism-led benefits did not affect respondents' willingness to participate at a significant degree (see Table7.2, page 181). Even when we disaggregate the sample into sub-groups, we find that confidence for positive tourism outcomes did rarely exert a strong impact on WTP whereas occasionally, favourable tourism perceptions demotivated participation of certain community sections (e.g. women, those at lowest education levels and those engaged in heritage activities). Considering that we deal with an immature destination, where tourism was still a marginal economic activity, it could be likely that these relationships between tourism expectations and WTP stemmed from a sense of alienation from the tourism sector on behalf of the broader community, in terms of knowledge, experience and relevancy to their own circumstances.

Therefore, WTP was not driven by anticipated tourism gains or costs. Rather, it seems that the expected rewards in the trade-off for participating remained disconnected from pure economic, growth, and development expectations and that community attitudes were shaped by certain heritage values (i.e. identity/memory, emblematic traits and accessibility) and possibly by other factors, which still remain concealed.

7.6 Community ideals as the key for mobilising participation

Community-based participatory research has highlighted that the instigation of collaborative undertakings depends largely on the broader conditions that frame the local societal context (Brodie et al., 2011; Frank & Smith, 2000; Gianchello, 2007). Social relationships along with civic and political culture are major ingredients for initiating and maintaining participation (Brodie et al., 2011; Gianchello, 2007; Nunkoo & Ramkinsoon, 2011). At the same time, it is suggested that perceptions of impact, described as the degree to which community members are convinced that their action will affect policy and action meaningfully, can also influence intentions for involvement heavily (Brodie et al., 2011). According to these standpoints, our proposed hypothesis is that community ideals and civic culture that permeate the social fabric of destinations, along with societal interactions and attachment to place serve as incentives for community partnerships (Hypothesis H3).

Indeed, our full sample results illuminate that community ideals at Kastoria played a central role in driving respondents' intentions for participation, given that three out of the four factors considered – i.e. participation values (COM1), altruism and attachment (COM2) and collective power (COM3) – exerted a significantly positive influence on WTP (see Table 7.2, page 178). When we focus on local community subdivisions, we also find that citizenry role and cohesion (COM4) values, which appeared to form an insignificant component in our full sample estimation, did in fact motivate participation for several groups of the local community; among others, those residing close to heritage places, individuals who had long experience with the place (i.e. more than 20 years of residency), and members of local cultural associations.

Interestingly, differentiation based on length of stay also altered the effects of community factors considerably for those with less experience with the place. For instance, respondents who had lived in Kastoria for up to twenty years (i.e. clusters of 6-10 and 11-20 years) were significantly driven only by a single community factor (COM3) - contrary to those with more than 20 years of residency who were positively driven by all communal variables. In addition, those who had spent less than five years in the area were affected negatively by participation values (COM1), which might imply that they did not yet feel like an organic part of the local community.

Another interesting variation of the impact of community factors on WTP related to respondents' educational background. More specifically, we find that those with heritage-related education were impacted negatively by two community factors (COM1, COM3) whereas the remaining factors were insignificant drivers of their behaviour – in contrast to those with non-related education who were strongly incentivized by all community components. As discussed earlier, respondents with relevant education (i.e. experts) were motivated predominantly by inherent heritage values (HER1), such as the attributes of uniqueness, bequest and universality assigned to official heritage monuments, in line with the principles of state Authorized Heritage Discourses (Smith, 2006; see Section 7.4). This contrasts sharply with non-expert citizens, who were demotivated to participate by the inherent qualities attached to heritage (i.e. HER1) and were mostly mobilized by community-related values.

7.7 Deconstructing the drivers to participation

The previous paragraphs established that the magnitude and impact character of heritage, tourism and community factors on WTP exhibited variations that depended on several profile characteristics of respondents. Such variations remind us of Smith (2009), who proposes the idea that heritage is a process that recreates particular sets of values and meanings that are relevant to particular parts of the community. Without a doubt, our empirical investigation exposes similar particularities as it reveals that personal circumstances, such as education and place experience, alter the way in which heritage values and community ideals affect different clusters of the citizenry. Such investigation needs to go deeper along these lines in order to

explore how the five components (i.e. HER2, HER3, COM1, COM2, COM3), which were found to play a prominent place in shaping community intentions for participation, 'speak' to different sections of society[3]. Therefore, the following paragraphs deconstruct the drivers of participation with the view to shed more light into the profile of respondents that were affected more strongly across the local community.

Statements / Demographics	A11[a]	A12[a]	A13[b]	A14[c]	A15[c]
Gender[1]	-0.980	-1.951*	-0.023	-0.856	-1.257
General education[2]	37.465***	15.664**	8.432*	13.977***	4.297***
Relevant education[1]	-3.220***	-1.306	-4.725***	-3.358***	-3.462***
Employment status[2]	12.310**	28.459***	44.937***	13.776**	3.644
TRSM employment[1]	-0.731	-0.571	-0.196	-1.367	-2.709***
Place of residence[2]	20.980***	1.439	7.016	17.612***	12.875**
Length of stay[2]	57.325***	24.373***	7.853*	36.498***	15.339***
Association membership[1]	-3.688***	-4.529***	-6.66***	-2.516**	-1.014
Other HRTG activities[1]	-0.358	-2.134**	-5.949***	-0.872	-2.721***
Communal activities[1]	-0.16	-1.694*	-0.924	-0.62	-2.593***

Notes:
a refer to fur craftsmanship as part of local cultural identity.
b refers to the unofficial monuments of the civil war as witnesses of place history.
c refers to traditional customs as common heritage that brings local community together.
For nominal variables, we ran Mann-Whitney tests whereas for categorical variables we employed the Kruskal-Wallis test. Thus, *1* denotes Mann-Whitney z-statistics, *2* denotes Kruskal-Wallis Chi-square statistics.
*, **, *** denote significance at 10%, 5%, and 1%, respectively.

Table 7.4 Tests on median differences of responses to statements comprising collective identity and memory values (HER2) among demographic sub-samples.

Starting from collective identity and memory values (HER2), we observe that this component consists of five statements that refer to fur craftsmanship (statements A11 and A12), the 'ghost' mud-brick villages that were abandoned during the civil war (statement A13) and the local traditional carnival (statements A14, A15) (Table 7.4, see also Chapter 5 for a detailed presentation of these heritage elements). As we postulated previously, these resources are mostly excluded in official heritage narratives, they are less state controlled and in turn, they can be labelled as 'unofficial' heritage that remains disconnected from authorised discourses. We further observe here that at the time of the survey, this type of heritage appealed mostly

[3] As previously, we consider only those demographic characteristics that alter WTP significantly (see Section 7.2).

to 'ordinary' people, as those at lower/non-specialised education clusters were significantly more appreciative of HER2 component elements compared to those with higher/relevant education (test results are reported in Appendix F).

More specifically, junior high, high-school or technical diploma holders rated fur craftsmanship (A11-12) and local customs (A14-15) statement items significantly higher as opposed to university graduates and post-graduates. The same distinction holds for respondents who had and for those who had not studied a discipline relevant to heritage (interestingly, the only exemption is statement item A13, which refers to the war memories witnessed by the *tangible* architecture of Koresteia villages). This might suggest that the common meanings of the Kastorian community and by extension its shared identity, were better communicated in its informal artistic expressions and learnings (Williams, 1958). Following Williams' (1958) analysis on culture, we can argue that for this part of the community, heritage was seen as 'ordinary', which could explain the differences observed here. By contrast, responses to HER3 variables, which relate to official 'non-ordinary' remains of the past (i.e. Medieval monuments and stately mansions), do not reveal a similar dichotomy (see Table 7.5, page 190). Rather clusters based on education level do not reveal any clear pattern whereas the relevantly-educated rated only two out of the four items significantly higher.

Another interesting point that needs to be raised is that heritage appears to be invested with collective identity values mostly by respondents who lived in Kastoria Town and in nearby towns-villages (items A11, A14, A15 received significantly higher ratings by subjects within clusters 1-3), by those who had lived in Kastoria for more than 20 years (all statements items), and by members of cultural associations (A11, A12, A13, A14). For HER3 variables, the pattern is almost similar (e.g. those living in Kastoria Town rated statements A23-A24 highest and those with highest length of stay agreed more with statements A10-A20), however, we observe some interesting exceptions. For instance, in statement A25, which advocates for greater public access to heritage, these clusters (most proximal; most experienced) gave the second highest ratings after the most remotely and least experienced subjects, who exhibited the greatest scores. This could suggest that public access to official heritage sites is requested not only by those mostly attached to heritage and place but also by those mostly

marginalized. Moreover, statement A24, which condemns the destruction of the old high-school in Koumbelidiki square, a neoclassical building of high architectural beauty that was demolished in the 1970s, was rated highest by those with the shortest length of stay (clusters 1-2), who had *de facto* no personal connection with it[4].

Statements / Demographics	A10[a]	A23[a]	A24[b]	A25[b]
Gender[1]	-0.615	-1.524	-0.629	-0.068
General education[2]	11.384**	5.498	14.277***	16.863***
Relevant education[1]	-0.342	-0.014	-2.967***	-3.495***
Employment status[2]	17.173***	15.100***	19.540***	10.900*
TRSM employment[1]	-0.721	-1.58	-1.237	-1.209
Place of residence[2]	3.767	11.392**	10.165**	30.210***
Length of stay[2]	24.445***	29.736***	20.045***	20.489***
Association membership[1]	-0.867	-3.737***	-5.123***	-1.174
Other HRTG activities[1]	-0.241	-2.666***	-5.935***	-2.226**
Communal activities[1]	-1.536	-1.507	-1.461	-1.676*

***Notes**:*
a refers to the emblematic traits of key heritage sites of Kastoria.
b refers to public access to heritage monuments of Kastoria.
For nominal variables, we ran Mann-Whitney tests whereas for categorical variables we employed the Kruskal-Wallis test. Thus, *1* denotes Mann-Whitney z-statistics, *2* denotes Kruskal-Wallis Chi-square statistics.
*, **, *** denote significance at 10%, 5%, and 1%, respectively.

Table 7.5 Tests on median differences of responses to statements comprising emblematic and accessible value (HER3) among demographic sub-samples.

Moving to community factors, we begin with COM1 statements, which highlight the value of citizen participation and advocate for collaborative planning. As shown in Table 7.6 (page 188), we observe that those in the tourism business were significantly more supportive of citizen participation in heritage and collaborative heritage tourism than all other respondents (statements A28, B13) as a means to contribute to experts' work (B20) and secure commonly beneficial outcomes (B22). Further, those who had stayed the longest in the area (more than 20 years) were also the most supportive of collaborative planning and community involvement (statements B13, B20). However, as far as participatory heritage was concerned,

[4] Interestingly, this particular statement was extracted from interview data provided by subject CTZ_12, who was in her/his late 20s during the time of the study. The subject had no direct personal memory of the heritage site but nonetheless referred to its demolition as a mistake that should not be repeated.

the least experienced with the place expressed the highest advocacy (A28). Significant effects of location are also observed for participation as a means of gaining new skills (B19) for those living remotely – perhaps reflecting the low professional development opportunities offered in the periphery. Furthermore, association memberships and current involvement in heritage promotion increased significantly respondents' support for all statement items.

Statements / Demographics	A28[a]	B13[a]	B18[b]	B19[b]	B20[b]	B22[b]
Gender[1]	-1.717*	-2.029**	-0.151	-0.115	-1.188	-1.419
General education[2]	16.97***	12.508**	9.371*	4.987	4.196	31.54***
Relevant education[1]	-3.153***	-0.384	-0.163	-0.821	-0.622	-0.672
Employment status[2]	9.622*	16.161***	5.791	6.505	8.722	24.642***
TRSM employment[1]	-2.293**	-2.67***	-1.001	-1.14	-2.711***	-1.944*
Place of residence[2]	3.446	2.573	0.769	8.011*	14.789***	7.582
Length of stay[2]	25.793***	44.289***	6.65	5.964	11.144**	4.682
Assoc. membership[1]	-2.945***	-3.77***	-3.695***	-3.283***	-3.048***	-2.105**
Other HRTG activities[1]	-5.315***	-3.972***	-4.54***	-3.424***	-3.828***	-1.16
Communal activities[1]	-1.564	-1.087	-1.347	-2.74***	-1.793*	-2.721***

***Notes**:*
a supports the idea of citizen participation and collaborative approaches to planning.
b describes the positive outcomes of a collaborative approach to planning.
For nominal variables, we ran Mann-Whitney tests whereas for categorical variables we employed the Kruskal-Wallis test. Thus, *1* denotes Mann-Whitney z-statistics, *2* denotes Kruskal-Wallis Chi-square statistics.
*, **, *** denote significance at 10%, 5%, and 1%, respectively.

Table 7.6 Tests on median differences of responses to statements comprising participation values (COM1) across demographic sub-samples.

Interestingly, effects of place and heritage proximity (i.e. living in the old city neighbourhoods; cluster 1) were also instrumental in increasing altruistic feelings and place attachment of respondents (COM2, see Table 7.7, page 192). High proximity to heritage increased consent for public expenditure on it (A27), the prioritization of collective over individual interests (B14), as well as, respondents' recognition of their personal connection to Kastoria (B16). However, interestingly, this cluster scores were behind the scores of marginalised respondents for statement B17, as the desire to help Kastoria and contribute to the place was rated highest by those residing in mostly remote places (cluster 4).

Statements / Demographics	A27[a]	B14[a]	B16[b]	B17[b]
Gender[1]	-2.421**	-0.361	-1.197	-0.242
General education[2]	6.266	6.432	16.723***	8.602*
Relevant education[1]	-3.363***	-0.447	-2.723***	-0.038
Employment status[2]	48.355***	6.382	9.758*	18.388***
TRSM employment[1]	-1.954*	-1.338	-2.963***	-3.276***
Place of residence[2]	14.441***	12.002**	26.604***	17.63***
Length of stay[2]	13.011**	15.377***	31.53***	21.004***
Association membership[1]	-1.433	-2.492**	-0.55	-2.226**
Other HRTG activities[1]	-3.651***	-2.495**	-1.452	-3.738***
Communal activities[1]	-1.153	-0.938	-0.962	-1.315

***Notes**:*
a expresses to altruism, *b* indicates place attachment.
For nominal variables, we ran Mann-Whitney tests whereas for categorical variables we employed the Kruskal-Wallis test. Thus, *1* denotes Mann-Whitney z-statistics, *2* denotes Kruskal-Wallis Chi-square statistics.
*, **, *** denote significance at 10%, 5%, and 1%, respectively.

Table 7.7 Tests on median differences of responses to statements comprising respondents' expression of altruism and attachment (COM2) across demographic sub-samples.

We also observe that tourism professionals, those with relevant education and full-time employment were amongst the warmest supporters of public spending for local heritage resources (statement A27). Collective as opposed to personal interests were more important for association members, those with highest place attachment and individuals that engaged in heritage (B14). Along with years of stay, heritage education increased personal connection to place (B17). Finally, those whose employment was associated to tourism showed relatively higher confidence in conflict resolution and meaningful change through participation (COM3 variables B21 and B23) than their control groups (see Table 7.8, page 193). This is quite optimistic considering that experts are generally viewed as reluctant towards participatory endeavours (see for instance, Waterton & Smith, 2010). Those involved in communal activities, such as local politics, were also more optimistic with regards to the impacts of participation on policy (B23).

Statements / Demographics	B21[a]	B23[b]
Gender[1]	-2.471**	-0.09
General education[2]	10.147**	17.051***
Relevant education[1]	-1.157	-4.309***
Employment status[2]	16.865***	20.050***
TRSM employment[1]	-3.341***	-3.28***
Place of residence[2]	7.781*	8.157*
Length of stay[2]	7.644	20.883***
Association membership[1]	-1.551	-1.4
Other HRTG activities[1]	-1.16	-1.609
Communal activities[1]	-1.153	-2.571***

***Notes**:*
a refers to collective ability to resolve conflict.
b refers to collective ability to overcome political inhibitors.
For nominal variables, we ran Mann-Whitney tests whereas for categorical variables we employed the Kruskal-Wallis test. Thus, *1* denotes Mann-Whitney z-statistics, *2* denotes Kruskal-Wallis Chi-square statistics.
*, **, *** denote significance at 10%, 5%, 1%, respectively.

Table 7.8 Tests on median differences of responses to statements reflecting confidence in collective power (COM3) across demographic sub-samples.

7.8 Altruism, attachment and structure of feeling: New insights

Our empirical examination of the factors that shape community intentions for participation provides some interesting insights into local stakeholders' perceptions and motivations, which can inform engagement and communication policies. First, we observed that community-based ideals, such as place affection and altruism, are the main drivers of taking part. Second, we find that heritage values play a two-fold role, acting either as incentives (e.g. emblematic and accessible heritage) or as barriers (e.g. communal identity and memory values) to involvement. Interestingly, proximity to heritage places and experience with the place appears to positively influence both respondents' acknowledgement of the aforementioned values and their desire for collective action. In contrast, tourism and pure economic benefits seem to have little impact on community sentiment regarding participation. Overall, our findings are in line with Mydland and Grahn (2012) who propose that communities are mobilized to safeguard heritage in order to reinforce their communal

values and ties. Considering the conclusions of the previous chapter, one is perhaps not surprised that these communal values are in our case recreated primarily by 'unofficial' heritage resources to which the Kastorian community appears to relate more strongly (see Section 6.4, Chapter 6).

Although a bulk of the existing tourism literature focuses much of its attention on tangible -monetary- tourism benefits as a key stimulus for community participation (see *inter alia*, Saufi et al., 2014; Stone & Stone, 2011; Wang et al., 2010), our findings extend our current knowledge by suggesting that in emerging heritage tourism destinations, the creation and distribution of mere economic benefits across the local community are not sufficient for pursuing successful participatory planning. Instead, policymakers that wish to embark on citizen-inclusive collaborations need to employ participatory structures that will emphasize and accommodate participants' sense of place and felt attachment to locality. This does not mean to suggest that community-led partnerships should not pursue the equitable share of material resources, but that concurrently with this, they should also cater for promoting social development and community connection to its heritage. For instance, as Jamal and McDonald (2011) suggest, community collaborations could help participants accrue intangible benefits, such as building social and civic capital and promoting community cohesion.

With respect to heritage connection, the heterogeneity identified across the values that are relevant to different sections of the local community confirms Smith's (2009) view of heritage qualities as dynamic and subjective. Interestingly, our data reveal that inherent values (e.g. universality, bequest) drive heritage experts' involvement but discourage non-experts. Rather, the latter are motivated by symbolic values and a desire to improve public access to monuments whereas, our earlier interpretation of unofficial heritage as more familiar and relevant to the wider community is here strengthened (see Chapter 6). Unofficial 'ordinary' heritage through its artistic expressions and learning seems to be essential for promoting identity values and common meanings across the broader community and for eliminating social distinctions between non-expert citizens (Bourdieu 1984, Williams, 1958).

To better understand these findings, we can draw upon Raymond Williams' theory of 'structures of feeling', defined as the common sets of perceptions and values produced and shared by a particular community in a particular point in time (1977, pp. 128-135). According to Williams (1977), a structure of feeling encompasses dominant, residual and emergent cultural characteristics and practices. In this light, the dominant heritage ideology is represented by official state/expert-driven discourses. As discussed in the previous chapter, the dominant ideology dictates significance and heritage management practice but it is not relevant across all community segments. In parallel to the dominant culture and practice of interacting with heritage, there are residual elements which revolve around the same heritage resources (official/state-protected) but provide a different narrative (e.g. social merits and emblematic values). Furthermore, there is an emergent heritage that is not yet formally recognized as equally worthy, despite its societal significance in promoting communal identity, because dominant traditions measure value based on the forms and conventions of artistic perfection and uniqueness.

Therefore, a truly inclusive engagement strategy for participatory heritage tourism needs to encompass all three layers of community's structure of feeling in order to make heritage action relevant to more stakeholders. More specifically, an approach that moves beyond the dominant layer of heritage and its management will be vital for avoiding tokenistic and short-term citizen involvement. In turn, this will require for broadening the scope of heritage management practice in order to embrace and promote social interactions with monuments and uses that move beyond the 'study' and 'admiration' of pieces of high art and architecture. It will also demand for heritage interpretations that depart from elitist views and guarantee the heritage status to heritage sites, practices and places that are invested with communal meanings. However, before we elaborate further on these findings (chapter 9), we first need to discuss the results of our third fieldwork stage (experimental collaboration) to get a more complete picture of participatory dynamics. Thus, the next chapter provides an empirical analysis of collective decision-making.

CHAPTER 8

The dynamics of collective decisions: A comparison of governance structures for heritage tourism planning

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents our experimental observations from a *ceteris paribus* comparison of different decision-making structures for heritage tourism planning, namely, (i) conventional non-inclusive, (ii) citizen-based grassroots, and (iii) mixed participatory decision-making. In particular, we analyse the behaviour of human subjects (i.e. state officials and citizens of Kastoria in different group compositions) when assigned with an endowment allocation task and asked to make decisions collectively. We discuss their performance comparatively (i.e. outcomes, deliberation and conflict) and we explore how individual and communal preferences were shaped by subjects' perceptions and profile. We also explore intra-group heterogeneity, negotiations, and sources of dispute. This is the first direct comparison of different power structures for tourism policymaking, conducted *ex-ante* in an experimental setting. Thus, our findings provide important insights into the dynamics of cooperation across and between different stakeholders, which can inform our research in instigating participation and help us draw important implications for policy in destinations that wish to pursue collaborative planning.

Conducting an economic experiment in the field was perhaps one of the most challenging and exciting parts of the project. It is perhaps purposeful to dedicate a few lines to the practical implications of adopting such a methodological tool, given that quasi-field experiments are new to our discipline but can nonetheless open a new fascinating research avenue, which along with empirical work, can help us gain a better understanding of how to approach the democratisation of heritage tourism planning. Although all fieldwork research is at times demanding, economic experiments require persistent endeavour and a particularly broad set of skills, including communication, organization, negotiation, and persuasion at multiple

stages of the process. As some of these 'technicalities' cannot be found in methodological textbooks, it is useful to share some personal hands-on experiences with future experimenters before moving on to data analysis.

First, a major drawback of economic experiments is that they are particularly expensive compared to other tools (Druckman et al., 2011; Gerber, 2011). Especially experiments conducted in the field entail high experimental and personal costs. These include the financing of participants (i.e. show-up fees) and the allocation of real monetary endowments to subjects, along with other additional costs, such as equipment, printing material, travel and accommodation. Thus, assuming that the main idea of the experiment is formulated, which, needless to say, requires well-informed and well-thought decisions, researchers will probably face the challenge of securing the necessary funds in order to move from conception to reality.

Beyond finances, a central difficulty of economic experiments is that they require a considerable number of participants, which is perhaps why most experiments are conducted in university labs, where student pools are available (Druckman & Kam, 2011; Greiner, 2004). For quasi-field experiments this is obviously not the case, and especially when observations stem from collective (group) settings rather than autonomous individuals, the number of human subjects rises sharply. The logistics of recruiting and accommodating participants in the field can be particularly time-consuming and complex, from writing and distributing invitations to preparing paper work, finding all necessary equipment from pens to recorders, booking venues, and confirming attendance (in our case, also 'chasing' busy state officials).

Once pre-session arrangements are complete, special attention needs to be paid to the orchestration of the experimental process. Working outside the lab implies that most subjects have limited or no experience of scientific processes and experimental procedures. Thus, it is necessary to provide them with detailed instructions, avoid deception while not revealing experimental details that need to remain concealed (e.g. in our case, participants were not informed of the treatments we employed to avoid biased choices but rather the instructions provided featured only those pieces of information that the subjects needed to perform the task; Guala, 2005). This process requires diplomacy and patience, as misunderstandings can

affect results. Further, our experience showed that tasks with monetary payments may give rise to scepticism and suspicion, whereas the employment of realistic project scenarios can even trigger micro-political disputes. However, these reactions, although unpredictable, do eventually add realism to the collaborative process and make observations more interesting.

Overall, despite its inherent difficulties, the running of the experimental sessions was a process which paid-off in terms of providing diverse findings that shed light on multiple dimensions of collective decision-making for heritage tourism and that would have not been acquired otherwise. The chapter's analysis of results begins by demonstrating our methodological validity and continues to describe group performance across treatments and the correlations between deliberation, conflict, and outcomes. Next, we describe the factors that influenced individual behaviour and how group heterogeneity affected consensual decisions. Last but not least, we open the 'black box' of experimental discussions and we interpret the dynamics and negotiation of intra-group conflict.

8.2 Validation of methodology

As analysed in Chapter 4, given that economic experiments are rather uncommon in community tourism and heritage tourism studies, it was purposeful to test whether such research approach maintains its validity of eliciting subjects' behaviour, when applied in a heritage tourism investment context. In particular, we wished to confirm whether the monetary contributions mechanism, i.e. the fact that participants' decisions had real consequences as their contributions corresponded to actual monetary payments, held the capacity to alter choices or groups' performance. To do so, we exposed different subjects to treatments 1 and 2 (thenceforth T1, T2, respectively) which as explained in our methodology section allowed us to compare data generated when either hypothetical payoffs (i.e. T1) or incentive-compatible monetary endowments (i.e. T2) were effective (see Section 4.6.2, Chapter 4). To put simply, T1 and T2 groups were similarly composed by citizens but T1 (T2) groups were asked to make heritage investment decisions on the basis of assumed (real) monetary resources.

	Treatment T1	Treatment T2
Number of Groups	6	6
Number of Subjects	24	24
Real endowments	No	Yes
Avg. Males per group (%)	0.29	0.63
Median Age[1]	4.5	3.0
Median Education[2]	1.0	2.0
Median Location[3]	1.0	1.0
Avg. Contributions (Experimental Units)		
Scenario 1	160.00	141.67
Scenario 2	166.67	125.00
Avg. Time (Minutes)		
Scenario 1	8.17	20.00
Scenario 2	6.17	11.17
Avg. Conflict1[4]		
Scenario 1	-3.33	16.67
Scenario 2	0.00	2.08
Avg. Conflict2[5]		
Scenario 1	6.67	40.14
Scenario 2	0.00	12.5

Notes:
1: Age is coded as 1:18-24, 2:25-34, 3:35-44, 4:45-54, 5:55-64,6:65-74.
2: Education is coded as 1: High school graduate, 2: University graduate, 3: Post-graduate.
3: Location is coded 1-3 starting from Kastoria's city core and moving towards peripheral areas.
4: Conflict1 is estimated as the difference between individual *desired* contributions (mean values) and group *actual* contributions.
5: Conflict2 is the standard deviation of individual desired contributions of group members.

Table 8.1 Descriptive statistics of group composition and experimental data for Treatments 1 and 2.

Based on the descriptive statistics shown on Table 8.1, we observe that on average T1 subjects invested slightly more to the heritage fund in both scenarios. Most important though are the striking differences between the two treatment groups in terms of deliberation and conflict as T2 decisions were more time-consuming and conflictual. To compare groups behaviour (mean values) in greater detail, we ran a series of non-parametric (Mann-Whitney) tests and we display the results in Table 8.2 (see page 200). In particular, we find that independently of the scenario, T1 and T2 groups do not exhibit any statistically significant differences in terms of their contributions. However, T2 groups spent significantly more time to reach a decision in both scenarios ($p=0.006$ and $p=0.043$, respectively) suggesting that their final contributions were considerably more contemplative (Rubinstein, 2014). In Scenario 1, the two treatment

groups also exhibit significant differences in terms of conflict (p=0.045 for Conflict1 and p=0.049 for Conflict2), as T2 groups appear more susceptible to dispute. The differences in time and conflict maintain their significance when considering the aggregate values of both scenarios (see Table 8.2, column 'Total').

	T1 vs T2		
	Scenario 1	Scenario 2	Total
Contributions	-0.821	-0.717	-0.490
Time	-2.766***	-2.023**	-2.486***
Conflict1	-2.006**	0.000	-2.326**
Conflict2	-1.968**	-1.477	-1.964*

Notes:
Values represent z-statistic of the Mann-Whitney test.
Conflict1 is estimated as the difference between individual desired contributions (mean values) and group actual contributions.
Conflict2 is the standard deviation of individual desired contributions of group members.
*, **, *** denote significance at 10%, 5%, and 1%, respectively

Table 8.2 Comparison of results between T1 and T2 groups.

Thus, there is evidence that the application of real rewards affected the behaviour of T2 subjects, as it induced longer deliberation times and greater conflict. In contrast T1 groups allocated their (hypothetical) resources more 'light-heartedly', confirming the validity of our research technique (monetary incentives). It needs to be noted that T1 groups are excluded from the rest of our analysis, as their hypothetical nature and subsequent different behaviour render them incompatible to the remaining treatment groups (i.e. we consider T1 data invalid for comparative analysis). In contrast, T2 groups were compatible to other groups (i.e. real rewards mechanism) and their results were further employed to discuss grass-roots (citizen-only) performance in comparison with our other treatments.

8.3 Group performance across treatments

We continue our analysis by focusing on group composition and performance. Based on our experimental design, our results set out to reveal any similarities and differences between

different power structures of heritage tourism planning. In particular, given our applied treatments, we compare the collective behaviour of non-participatory governance, which imitates conventional decision-making through groups of state appointed/elected officials (T3) with the performance of citizen groups (T2) and participatory groups that consist of both officials and citizens (T4).

	Treatment T2	**Treatment T3**	**Treatment T4**
Number of Groups	6	6	6
Number of Subjects	24	20	28
Real endowments	Yes	Yes	Yes
Avg. Officials per group (%)	0.00	1.00	0.45
Avg. Males per group (%)	0.63	0.33	0.41
Median Age[1]	3	3	4
Median Education[2]	2	2	2
Median Location[3]	1	2	1
Avg. Contributions (Experimental Units)			
Scenario 1	141.67	200.00	191.67
Scenario 2	125.00	125.00	176.67
Avg. Time (Minutes)			
Scenario 1	20.00	8.67	13.83
Scenario 2	11.17	7.00	10.33
Avg. Conflict1[4]			
Scenario 1	16.67	0.00	20.00
Scenario 2	2.08	-11.11	13.33
Avg. Conflict2[5]			
Scenario 1	40.14	0.00	44.72
Scenario 2	12.50	19.25	44.72

Notes:
1: Age is coded as 1:18-24, 2:25-34, 3:35-44, 4:45-54, 5:55-64,6:65-74.
2: Education is coded as 1: High school graduate, 2: University graduate, 3: Post-graduate.
3: Location is coded 1-3 starting from Kastoria's city core and moving towards peripheral areas.
4: Conflict1 is estimated as the difference between individual *desired* contributions (mean values) and group *actual* contributions.
5: Conflict2 is the standard deviation of individual desired contributions of group members.

Table 8.3 Descriptive statistics of group composition and collected data for T2, T3 and T4 groups.

Starting from the descriptive statistics exhibited in Table 8.3, we observe that the differences between the average contributions of T3 and T4 groups were quite similar (in an analogy of 200.00-191.67 experimental units), whereas in Scenario 2 participatory groups were little

more generous (by 51.67 experimental units). In contrast, T2 groups invested less in both heritage projects compared to other treatment groups (141.67 and 125.00 experimental units, respectively). Further, average minutes spent to reach a collective decision were generally higher in T2 and T4 treatments (20.00-11.17 and 13.83 -10.33 minutes, respectively) as opposed to T3 groups (8.67-7.00 minutes).

For conflict, we witness that in Scenario 1, Conflict1 and Conflict2 variables take zero values at T3 groups, suggesting that the individual preferences of subjects exposed to this treatment were aligned to their collective decisions. This contradicts the results of T2 and T4 groups where conflict values are quite high (Conflict1=16.67, Conflict2=40.14 at T2 groups whereas Conflict1=20.00, Conflict2=44.72 at T4). A plausible explanation here is that the ratification of Scenario1 may seemed as 'the natural thing to do' for traditional 'power-holders' whereas for citizen and participatory groups investment choices were negotiable (a description of scenarios can be found in Section 4.6.2, Chapter 4). Interestingly, in Scenario 2 we obtain a different picture for T3 groups, as their conflict scores are second higher after T4 groups (Conflict1=-11.11, Conflict2=19.25 at T3 groups whereas Conflict1=13.33, Conflict2=44.72 at T4). Here, the most harmonious preferences lie with citizen groups (Conflict1=2.08, Conflict2=12.50 at T2). This suggests that behaviour in uniform groups (i.e. citizens-only, officials-only) was affected by choice-specific characteristics. This does not hold for mixed participatory groups, which exhibited a similar behaviour across scenarios in terms of conflict.

Although these results are interesting, we need to run a series of non-parametric (Mann-Whitney) tests in order to examine behaviour based on decision-making structure in greater detail and establish whether the differences we observe across treatments are statistically significant. Indeed, as shown in Table 8.4 (see page 203), our initial observations with regards to contributions to heritage are confirmed. In particular, test results establish that the contributions of T3 and T4 groups do not differ considerably. Such comparative evidence of direct decision outcomes contradicts previous criticism that participatory processes can lead to undesired results that may be worse than non-participatory processes (Dietz & Stern, 2008). At least in the context of common-pool resources management, the decisions of both decision-making procedures seem to be qualitatively equal.

	T2 vs T3		
	Scenario 1	Scenario 2	Total
Contributions	-2.309**	-0.252	-0.574
Time	-2.531**	-1.615	-2.096**
Conflict1	-1.897*	-0.631	-2.326**
Conflict2	-2.292**	-0.420	-1.250
	T2 vs T4		
	Scenario 1	Scenario 2	Total
Contributions	-1.896*	-0.895	-1.459
Time	-0.723	-0.563	-0.722
Conflict1	-0.259	-1.146	-0.333
Conflict2	0.000	-1.081	-0.982
	T3 vs T4		
	Scenario 1	Scenario 2	Total
Contributions	-1.000	-1.378	-1.199
Time	-1.470	-0.890	-1.549
Conflict1	-1.915*	-1.687*	-2.006*
Conflict2	-1.915*	-0.866	-1.614

Notes:
Values represent z-statistic of the Mann-Whitney test.
Conflict1 is estimated as the difference between individual desired contributions (mean values) and group actual contributions.
Conflict2 is the standard deviation of individual desired contributions of group members.
*, **, *** denote significance at 10%, 5%, and 1%, respectively

Table 8.4 Comparison of results between T2, T3 and T4 groups.

In contrast, significant lower contributions are evident for T2 groups in Scenario 1 when compared to both T3 groups (p=0.021) and T4 groups (p=0.058). This suggests that citizens who acted autonomously exhibited a significantly less socially rational behaviour in the first round of the experiment compared to non-participatory decision-making and to the citizens that collaborated with government/heritage agents and reached decisions jointly. However, in Scenario 2, we cannot confirm any such differences.

As far as deliberation is concerned, we find that T3 and T4 groups exhibit no statistically significant differences in terms of time. Hence, although in absolute numbers participatory groups spent on average more time to reach consensus compared to traditional power-holders, the disparity is negligible. This finding is interesting because government officials often claim time inefficiencies as barriers to broader community involvement (Marzuki et. 2012; Izdiak et al., 2015) whereas consensus-building participation processes are believed to be counter-productive and comparatively lengthier (Dietz & Stern, 2008). Yet, a *ceteris paribus* comparison here suggests that participation does not inherently lead to longer decision-making compared to conventional governance. In contrast, time efficiency is statistically significant between T2 and T3 groups ($p=0.011$ in Scenario1 and $p=0.036$ when total performance is considered), as decision-making was considerably lengthier in the former.

As suspected, T4 groups presented a significantly higher tendency to discord compared to T3 groups (the significance of Conflict1 is at $p=0.056$ in both scenarios whereas Conflict2 is significant with $p=0.092$ in Scenario 1). This might suggest that pluralist structures of governance as opposed to less inclusive ones tone up the expression of opposing policy preferences. Higher levels of conflict are also confirmed when we consider T2 and T3 comparatively (based on Scenario 1, Conflict1=0.021, Conflict2=0.022 whereas based on total performance, Conflict1=0.020). Thus, grass-roots performance during the experiment was characterised by longer deliberation and higher levels of conflict. A plausible explanation is citizens' limited experience in managing policy issues and lack of expertise in heritage tourism planning (Carson & Martin, 2002). Rather, differences between groups that commonly consist of citizens, either exclusively (T2) or partially (T4) are mainly insignificant in terms of both time and conflict. This is somewhat anticipated as the majority of participants in these groups (i.e. citizens) had not been exposed to collaborative planning prior to the experiment.

Based on these results, important conclusions can be drawn. Experimental economics draw a distinction between individual rationality (i.e. choices directed towards what is best for subjects' themselves) and social rationality (i.e. choices serving what is communally best; Vatn, 2009). Overall, our findings provide evidence that pro-social decisions are not a privilege of government/expert administration and that participation is not intrinsically risky as a

process of self-serving factional interests (Bevir, 2013; Irving & Stansbury, 2004). In our experiment, groups consisting merely of power-holders (non-participatory) and participatory groups consisting of both traditional power-holders and local citizens made equally high investments in heritage tourism projects which were considered as commonly beneficial. Thus, communication between experts and the broader community worked in favour of heritage and social rationality, implying that social interaction in participatory contexts has the power to activate people's altruism (Andreoni & Rao, 2011). This suggests that citizen input when balanced with expert knowledge and formal governance creates a fertile ground for fruitful outcomes. Rather, our data witness that a grass-roots decision-making structure based merely on citizens is comparatively weaker in destinations with no prior experience in tourism planning. Furthermore, no differences in terms of time efficiency were reported between the two decision-making structures (participatory/non-participatory), but conflict was higher in participatory groups compared to conventional power structures. As it appears that disagreement did not impact consensual decisions negatively, it will be interesting to further disentangle intra-group conflict and its effects on performance.

8.4 The interplay between deliberation, conflict and consensual outcomes

Table 8.5 (see page 206) compares average individual preferences (i.e. what group members wished to contribute to the heritage fund) against final collective choices (i.e. what groups did actually contribute). At first glance, we notice that in their vast majority, conflicting opinions about heritage tourism investment acted against selfish interests, as collective contributions were higher than average individually desired choices. Interestingly, this is observed across T2 (grass-roots) and T4 (participatory) groups, indicating that decision-making that involved citizens may have encountered the expression of selfish interests more frequently and intensively than non-inclusive governance, however, it showed resistance towards individual preferences that seemed to jeopardize communal good.

For example, in Scenario 1, we notice that arising conflict in T4 groups led to an increase of group contributions at a level very close to social optimum (i.e. 200.00 experimental units). These results witness the dominance of social rationality in participatory governance structures, as heritage communal values were prioritised over individually-beneficial choices

(Vatn, 2009). On the contrary, when conflict arouse between traditional power-holders (T3), there was an opposite reaction leading eventually to the individually optimal decision of investing zero sums to heritage.

	Scenario 1		Scenario 2		Total	
	IP	GC	IP	GC	IP	GC
T2	150.00	150.00	175.00	200.00	325.00	350.00
	175.00	200.00	200.00	200.00	375.00	400.00
	150.00	200.00	200.00	200.00	350.00	400.00
	75.00	100.00	162.50	150.00	237.50	250.00
	100.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
	100.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
T2 Mean	*125.00*	*141.67*	*122.92*	*125.00*	*247.92*	*266.67*
T3	200.00	200.00	66.67	0.00	266.67	200.00
	200.00	200.00	200.00	200.00	400.00	400.00
	200.00	200.00	200.00	200.00	400.00	400.00
	200.00	200.00	100.00	100.00	300.00	300.00
	200.00	200.00	150.00	150.00	350.00	350.00
	200.00	200.00	100.00	100.00	300.00	300.00
T3 Mean	*200.00*	*200.00*	*136.11*	*125.00*	*336.11*	*325.00*
T4	160.00	200.00	160.00	200.00	320.00	400.00
	150.00	150.00	100.00	100.00	250.00	250.00
	160.00	200.00	160.00	200.00	320.00	400.00
	200.00	200.00	200.00	200.00	400.00	400.00
	200.00	200.00	160.00	160.00	360.00	360.00
	160.00	200.00	200.00	200.00	360.00	400.00
T4 Mean	*171.67*	*191.67*	*163.33*	*176.67*	*335.00*	*368.33*

Notes: All values reflect experimental units.
IP: Individual preferences (mean), as extracted from the recordings of group discussions.
GC: Group contributions, as noted on experimental cards.

Table 8.5 Individual preferences and group contributions as per group.

It appears that it is important to extend our analysis by investigating further the correlations between conflict and performance across our treatment groups. To do so, we employ the Spearman non-parametric correlation test (see Section 4.6.4, Chapter 4) and we report the results on Table 8.6 (page 207). As we observe, in both T2 and T4 groups contributions to the heritage fund, time and conflict are all positively correlated whereas for T3 groups correlations are negative. This documents that conflict extended deliberation in grass-roots

and participatory groups, and that conflict along with longer deliberation worked in favour of pro-social decisions. However, the opposite holds for non-participatory groups.

	Contributions	Time	Conflict1	Conflict2
T2 Groups				
Contributions	1.000			
Time	0.471	1.000		
Conflict1	0.955	0.441	1.000	
Conflict2	0.746	0.406	0.896	1.000
T3 Groups				
Contributions	1.000			
Time	-0.750	1.000		
Conflict1	0.674	-0.696	1.000	
Conflict2	0.696	-0.674	-1.000	1.000
T4 Groups				
Contributions	1.000			
Time	0.439	1.000		
Conflict1	0.657	0.926	1.000	
Conflict2	0.495	0.956	0.904	1.000

Notes: Estimations are based on total results (i.e. aggregate performance at both scenarios).
Conflict1 is estimated as the difference between individual desired contributions (mean values) and group actual contributions.
Conflict2 is the standard deviation of individual desired contributions of group members.

Table 8.6 Correlations between (total) contributions, time and conflict (Spearman's rho).

A positive correlation between time and conflict across treatments T2 and T4 seems reasonable given that dispute can extend discussion length and decelerate final decisions. At the same time, the fact that correlations between time and conflict are negative in treatment T3 might indicate the existence of power imbalances that stemmed from the structural positions of group members (Choi & Robertson, 2014). However, results could be biased by the single conflict case reported and thus we can only draw tentative conclusions with regards to T3 groups.

Interestingly, in experimental literature lengthy decision times have been associated with altruistic choices (at individual level), suggesting that decision-making involves a clash between selfish and altruistic interests (Rubinstein, 2007). Yet, there is no experimental evidence on how conflict plays in a collaborative context, while there are concerns that the

persuasive and powerful can use participation as a means to promote their own ends (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004).

These render our findings with regards to contributions and conflict particularly interesting. More specifically, the positive correlation between contributions and conflict observed in T2 and T4 groups re-affirms our earlier finding with regards to the prevalence of pro-social preferences and further illuminates that conflict does not always act destructively (Byrd et al., 2009; Marzuki et al., 2012), but may also have constructive merits by leading to better choices. Moreover, positive correlations between time and contributions in citizen-inclusive groups indicates that time-consuming decision-making, which is generally regarded as expensive and unpleasant (Izdiak et al., 2015; Marzuki et al., 2012), can also be rewarding in terms of trading in effectiveness for more socially rational compromises.

8.5 Personal preferences and heterogeneity effects on group performance

We continue our analysis by investigating how personal preferences and subjects' profile impacted on collective decisions. We do so in order to subsequently examine how intra-group heterogeneity of these factors affected group performance. This exploration is relevant as the involvement of more stakeholders in governance is likely to increase the disparity of opinions and interests (Bessiere, 2013; Byrd et al., 2009). This disparity is normally treated as adding to the complexity of pursuing successful collaborations and making governance less effective (Jordan et al., 2013; Ostrom, 1990; Waligo et al., 2013).

Table 8.7 (see page 209) presents the factors that exerted significant influences on subjects' individual preferences (thenceforth, IP) during the experiment (i.e. desired investment amount to the heritage fund). We ran the regression model twice, firstly by considering all participants and then by narrowing down our sample to subjects of citizen/non-powerholder capacity. Starting from the full sample regression, we observe that IP is influenced significantly positively by subjects' trust on local citizens (*Citizenry Trust*), their view of heritage as an issue of strategic centrality (*Heritage as priority*), and the credibility of the local Ephorate of Antiquities (*Archaeological Service*). These factors maintain their positive

significance when we repeat the analysis with the citizen sample however interestingly, we observe that the influence of *Citizenry Trust* switches to *Institutional Trust*.

	IP (Full sample)	**IP** (Citizens sample)
Constant	133.367	331.849
Heritage and Trust (HT)		
Attachment to heritage	24.954	-35.477
Share of responsibility	-1.181	-20.929
Institutional Trust	8.770	40.989**
Citizenry Trust	53.087**	38.335
Heritage as priority	45.482**	82.956***
WTP1	37.751	66.736*
WTP2	-38.617*	-56.143***
Stakeholders' legitimacy (SL)		
Central government	-36.248*	-80.378***
Regional government	19.162	-18.636
City councils	-6.387	-4.512
Archaeological Service	64.832**	100.753***
Consultants-specialists	-3.432	-16.645
Tour operators	0.551	62.152***
Heritage freelancers	-49.410**	-88.259**
Tourism professionals	7.043	19.325
Community associations	10.653	100.638***
Local residents	-1.733	-30.799
Drivers to collaborate (DC)		
Monetary incentives	-7.360	-48.900***
Professional development	-11.224	-21.074
Moderate commitment	-0.679	-26.189
Special training	-71.937**	49.018
Collaborative spirit	28.127	-58.438**
Demographic profile (DP)		
Gender	-29.954	-81.334***
Age	-7.838	14.493
Location	-67.392*	-84.429***
Education	12.654	-70.809**
Relevant Occupation	-5.843	35.074
Association membership	-14.320	100.552**
R-squared	0.458	0.796

Notes: This table presents the results of Equation (1) as presented in Chapter 4 ($\boldsymbol{IP_j = a + \beta_i HT_j + \gamma_i SL_j + \delta_i DC_j + \zeta_i DP_j + e_j}$).
Estimations are based on aggregate contributions based on both scenarios.
IP: Individual preferences for contributions to heritage, as extracted from the recordings of group discussions.
* , **, *** denote significance at 10%, 5%, and 1%, respectively.

Table 8.7 Factors that influenced subjects' personal preferences for heritage investment.

The latter affirms Bhattacharya et al. (1998), who suggest that trust exists in an environment of mutuality, as both government officials' trust in citizens, and citizens' trust in government officials influence social preferences. Furthermore, citizens' IP was positively affected when subjects agreed with the allocation of taxes to heritage (*WTP1*), when they acknowledged community associations as legitimate stakeholders in heritage tourism planning (*Community associations*), and when they were members to such associations (*Association Membership*).

Moving to negative factors, our results show that in both the full and citizen sample analyses, IP decreased across respondents' who assigned higher legitimacy to 'competing' stakeholders, i.e. to the *Central government*, as opposed to the local Archaeological Service, and to *Heritage freelancers,* namely to private sector experts as opposed to public sector ones. Interestingly, citizens' IP was also negatively influenced when subjects ascribed higher importance to economic returns for participating (*Monetary incentives*), and to others' collaborative behaviour (*Collaborative spirit*), which might suggest a general sense of distrust towards their future partners. Furthermore, willingness to pay through personal income (*WTP2*) had a negative effect on citizen preferences. This is a rather unexpected result (the opposite effect would be anticipated) but it might indicate behavioural differences against a hypothetical question and an actual monetary decision. Demographic-wise, we observe a negative impact of *Location* across both samples, as those residing in peripheral towns/villages were less willing to invest in the heritage fund.

Overall, we find that feelings of trust dominated the formulation of subjects' preferences with regards to endowment allocation during the experiment. In particular, it appears that institutional and citizenry trust mobilised participants' altruism as the more trust citizens placed in traditional power-holders and vice versa, the higher their social preferences. This finding is plausible as trust is considered a fundamental element of social exchange and critical for promoting communal benefits (Nunkoo & Ramkinssoon, 2011). Likewise, our data reveal that trust towards the Archaeological Service affected contributions significantly positively, which is reasonable as IP allocations represented allocations to this specific institution. The reverse effect is observed for trust to central governance and heritage freelancers, illuminating the competing roles of different parties (central/local, public/private) and the influence of institutional credibility for the success of collaborative planning.

	GC	GC	GC	GC
Constant	149.631	239.955***	250.590***	245.453**
Heritage and Trust (HT)				
Attachment to heritage	61.040			
Share of responsibility	36.892			
Institutional Trust	97.406			
Citizenry Trust	-38.645			
Heritage as priority	18.265			
WTP1	-58.792			
WTP2	52.047			
Stakeholders' legitimacy (SL)				
Central government		103.600*		
Regional government		143.626*		
City councils		-30.238		
Archaeological Service		-153.179**		
Consultants-specialists		-134.633**		
Tour operators		141.566**		
Heritage freelancers		182.573**		
Tourism professionals		-222.141***		
Community associations		131.114***		
Local residents		-55.282		
Drivers to collaborate (DC)				
Monetary incentives			-32.151	
Professional development			-10.893	
Moderate commitment			45.507	
Special training			27.374	
Collaborative spirit			139.707	
Demographic profile (DP)				
Gender				219.140**
Age				-28.553
Location				-133.600
Education				26.381
Relevant Occupation				226.024*
Association membership				-192.077**
IP				-0.608
Time				4.003
Group dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES
R-squared	0.554	0.907	0.312	0.623

Notes: This table presents the results of Equation (3) as presented in Chapter 4 ($\boldsymbol{GC_g = c + \theta_i DisHT_g + \varphi_i DisSL_g + \omega_i DisDC_g + \xi_i DisDF_g + e_g}$)
Estimations are based on aggregate values based on both scenarios.
Due to small sample size, regressions were run separately among the four variable categories.
GC: Group contributions to heritage, as noted on decision cards during the experiment.
IP: Individual preferences for contributions to heritage, as extracted from the recordings of group discussions.
* , **, *** denote significance at 10%, 5%, and 1%, respectively.

Table 8.8 Intra-group dissimilarity effects on group contributions.

We continue our analysis by examining how intra-group heterogeneity of these variables impacted the collective decisions of groups. As illustrated by Table 8.8 (see page 211), consensual group contributions (GC) were significantly influenced by heterogeneity across beliefs that concerned stakeholders' legitimacy and by profile divergence in terms of gender, occupation, and involvement in associations. In particular, dissimilarity of participants' views with regards to the credibility of the *central* and *regional government*, the role of *tour operators*, *heritage freelancers* and *community associations* acted favourably for heritage investment. These contrasts with dissimilarity of trust towards the *Archaeological Service* and the role of *Consultants/specialists* and *Tourism professionals*, which played a negative role in shaping collective choices as did heterogeneity in terms of *Association membership*.

Comparing these results with the drivers of individual preferences (IP) (Table 8.7, page 209), we can infer that in groups with high dissimilarity of trust, distrust eventually prevailed. In turn, the direction of collective choices across the individual optimum/social optimum spectrum was determined by the identity of the distrusted agent. For example, those who trusted the local Ephorate of Antiquities for handling heritage tourism issues were willing to allocate more resources to the heritage fund. However, when they deliberated with their fellow group-members that had little trust to the local Ephorate, they concluded to lower collective contributions (i.e. prevalence of distrust; choices directed at what was best individually). In contrast, those who supported the centralised administration of heritage tourism issues were less willing to allocate resources to a locally-managed initiative. However, when they deliberated with group members that distrusted the central government, the end result was higher collective contributions to the locally managed fund (i.e. prevalence of distrust; pro-social direction).

Our results are in line with Lo et al. (2013), who hold that collective policy choices are heavily influenced by perceptions of trust and shared agreement over institutions' reliability. Although Ostrom (2005) suggests that communication fosters cooperation through the building of trust, it appears that on this occasion experimental deliberation did rather build on distrust. Furthermore, in our case, heterogeneity of opinions did not always affect consensual outcomes negatively, but also had a positive influence, depending on the agent distrusted. Thus, if actual collaborative planning is to happen, this should seek to appease

rivalries between different stakeholders and extent shared control across all levels of planning. In this perspective, the negative impact of dissimilarity is perhaps more relevant to informing policy.

		T2	T3	T4
	Dissimilarity variable			
Positive coefficients	Central government	0.973	**1.083**	*0.667*
	Municipal government	**1.307**	*0.517*	0.623
	Tour operators	1.167	**1.583**	*1.123*
	Heritage freelancers	*0.473*	0.817	**1.212**
	Community associations	**0.807**	*0.550*	0.623
	Gender	*0.250*	0.317	**0.447**
	Relevant Occupation	0.167	**0.513**	*0.000*
Negative coefficients	Local Archaeological Service	1.028	0.500	***0.335***
	Consultants-specialists	0.917	1.295	***0.312***
	Tourism professionals	1.197	***0.895***	1.547
	Current involvement	0.473	0.378	***0.223***

Note:
Italics denote lowest scores across the three treatments.
Bold denotes best result. The best results for the variables with positive (negative) coefficients are those with the highest (lowest) average dissimilarity scores.

Table 8.9 Average dissimilarity scores for variables influencing group contributions significantly.

To link these results to group composition, we explore where intra-group dissimilarities were more evident across our treatments. Table 8.9 isolates the variables that affected GC significantly and demonstrates the average dissimilarity scores of T2, T3 and T4 groups. For variables with a positive coefficient, high dissimilarity scores are generally preferred, given that dissimilarity favoured contributions to heritage whereas for variables with a negative coefficient low scores are desired as dissimilarity discouraged heritage investments. Our data reveal that in more than half of the dissimilarity variables, T4 groups exhibit the lowest scores compared to T2 and T3 groups. This is interesting because it implies that heterogeneity was not inherent to participatory multi-stakeholder groups during the experiment. Rather, groups that were seemingly more homogeneous (i.e. citizen-only/officials-only) did occasionally consist of members that individually held more divergent views in critical matters. Moreover, T4 groups exhibit the largest number of preferred dissimilarity scores, which especially holds for the variables that had a negative coefficient. This implies that our previous findings with

regards to dissimilarity and its negative influence on decisions were primarily driven by T2 and T3 groups.

8.6 Conflict negotiation: Exploring group discussions and dissenting voices

As a final step to our analysis, we explore the qualitative data of group discussions. Deliberation recordings can help us gain a deeper understanding of how intra-group conflict played and negotiated in group discussions in order to identify behavioural analogies that favoured or opposed the prevalence of social rationality in conflictual situations. Further, it is purposeful to examine the sources of conflict along with the arguments and concerns that were expressed in groups with dissenting opinions. Intra-group deliberation can expose decision-making procedures to the diversity of values that exist in a community (Lo, 2013). Both individual and collective preferences expressed during the experiment reflect judgements of relational value, which were shaped by both subjects' interests and the social structure of deliberation (Vargas & Diaz, 2017). Thus, qualitative data can shed additional light into subjects' autonomous and collective attitudes[1].

According to Rahim (2001) and Thomas (1992), we identify four main approaches to negotiating conflict. These are (i) the *contending* approach, where subjects focus primarily on their personal interests, (ii) the *accommodating* approach, where subjects are mostly concerned for others, (iii) the *collaborative* approach, where actors are equally interested in their own and others' needs, and (iv) the *avoiding* approach where individuals show an equally low concern for serving either sides. Based on our recordings, we extract participants' behaviour and we present the negotiating attitude of majorities and minorities within each group in Table 8.10 (see page 215).

In general, we observe that during experimental deliberation, conflict resolution leaned towards pro-social decisions when the majority of subjects showed a collaborative behaviour towards each other (e.g. T2G2, T4G6 in Scenario 1 and T2G1, T4G5 in Scenario 2). By contrast, when contending voices were prevalent, groups moved towards individually rational choices

[1] Full transcripts of the conversations and their coding are not provided here but are available upon request.

(e.g. T2G4, T3G1 in Scenario 2). Interestingly, this behaviour is observed exclusively in grassroots (T2) or non-participatory (T3) group structures. Contending voices are common in participatory groups in conflict but these represent group minorities; normally one individual, either official or citizen.

Group code	Behaviour of Majority (Minority)		IP (mean)	GC
		Scenario 1		
T2G1	Collaborative	(Accommodating)	150.00	150.00
T2G2	Collaborative	(Collaborative)	175.00	200.00
T2G3	Collaborative	(Accommodating)	150.00	200.00
T2G4	Collaborative	(Contending)	75.00	100.00
T4G1	Avoidance	(Contending)	160.00	200.00
T4G3	Collaborative	(Contending)	160.00	200.00
T4G6	Collaborative	(Accommodating)	160.00	200.00
		Scenario 2		
T2G1	Collaborative	(Contending)	175.00	200.00
T2G4	Contending	(Collaborative)	162.50	150.00
T3G1	Contending	(Accommodating)	66.67	0.00
T4G1	Avoidance	(Contending)	160.00	200.00
T4G3	Collaborative	(Contending)	160.00	200.00
T4G5	Collaborative	(Contending)	160.00	160.00

Notes: Behaviour data are based on recordings of group discussions during the experiment.
IP: Individual preferences for contributions to heritage, as extracted from the recordings of group discussions.
GC: Group contributions to heritage, as noted on decision cards during the experiment.

Table 8.10 Group behaviour towards conflict.

Contending behaviour on these occasions did not push collective decisions towards polarisation. Rather, there were cases where subjects chose either to marginalize non-commonly beneficial preferences (e.g. in T4G1, majority decisions were to invest full amount despite minority disagreement) or to isolate the uncooperative subject (e.g. T4G5 decided to split their tokens into equal amounts per subject, with all subjects except one, investing their shares to the project). Most importantly, there were cases where deliberation led subjects to change their preferences, fostering cooperation and social rationality (e.g. in T4G6 contending voices finally agreed upon heritage investment). This reinforces our previous argument that contrary to previously expressed fears, participatory processes are not inherently susceptible to promoting minority interests (Bevir, 2013; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004),

as in our experiment, community-inclusive participatory decision-making was rather resistant to favouring the individual goals of minorities. In addition, as conflict was initiated by traditional 'power-holders' and citizens alike, it is plausible to suggest that participation was rather successful in balancing power between different stakeholders in favour of commonly beneficial choices.

Source of conflict	Treatment	IP (mean)	GC
Strategic marginality	Grassroots (T2)	162.50	150.00
	Non-participatory (T3)	66.67	0.00
	Participatory (T4)	160.00	200.00
	Participatory (T4)	160.00	200.00
Institutional distrust	Grassroots (T2)	150.00	150.00
	Grassroots (T2)	175.00	200.00
	Grassroots (T2)	175.00	200.00
Power clashes	Participatory (T4)	160.00	200.00
	Participatory (T4)	160.00	200.00
	Participatory (T4)	160.00	160.00
Project quality	Grassroots (T2)	150.00	200.00
	Participatory (T4)	160.00	200.00
Location rivalries	Grassroots (T2)	75.00	100.00

Notes: Source of conflict data are based on the recordings of group discussions during the experiment.
IP: Individual preferences for contributions to heritage, as extracted from the recordings of group discussions.
GC: Group contributions to heritage, as noted on decision cards during the experiment.

Table 8.11 Main sources of intra-group conflict as expressed during deliberation.

As far as argument reasons are concerned, our recordings reveal that common sources of conflict, as expressed or implied by subjects, were perceptions of heritage tourism as a field of strategic marginality, feelings of institutional distrust, power clashes between stakeholders, concerns with regards to project quality, and rivalries between the interests of different areas of Kastoria. Table 8.11 shows the main sources of conflict as interpreted through the recordings data. We need to note that on certain occasions the causes of

opposition could have been multiple, yet our analysis relies on the most extensive/intense ones. The following lines narrate their unfolding during group discussions.

8.6.1 Strategic marginality

The most frequent justification for objecting to the allocation of resources to the heritage fund was the projects' strategic marginality (also, the only common source of conflict that is witnessed across all treatments). In particular, subjects that were less 'public spirited', expressed an acute negativity towards the need to invest in the proposed scenarios. As exemplified by excerpt 8.1, a central part of opposition was challenging the idea of groups investing in the proposed cause/scenario. We hold that this *a priori* rejection to collaborate masks a prioritization of selfish interests (contending behaviour).

T4G3S3: If this is as important as they say, why it is not financed by the city council or the regional government? Why they expect us to give the 200 euros?

T4G3S4: If there is no one else, it should be us.

T4G3S5: Shall we expect everything to be done by someone else or shall we get involved actively?

Deliberation in Group T4G3 [8.1]

Indeed, we observe that subjects that rejected the idea of investing in the heritage fund, proposed some alternative course of action, which served them better and attempted to convince the others to allocate the available resources to this particular cause. For example, in participatory group T4G3, a citizen promoted the idea of financing a heritage project in which she/he was personally involved in and was quite persistent in persuading the rest of the group (although it unanimously favoured the idea of investing in the heritage fund). In the second round, the same subject proposed two different heritage projects for endowment allocation, which again fitted with the subject's personal agenda. This is different from simply discussing policy alternatives as the interest is not located in finding a solution that is mutually beneficial but rather in serving individual goals.

T3G1S2: We could use the money differently.

T3G1S1: I do not favour this idea. This money is available for a specific reason, why shall we allocate them to another cause? There shouldn't be any children reaching my age and your age that would have never visited the Archaeological Museum.

T3G1S2: Students usually visit the Museum…

T3G1S3: All students have visited the Museum already. I know this for sure.

T3G1S2: We can help some families in predicament with this money.

Deliberation in Group T3G1 [8.2]

In other groups, strategic marginality was perhaps more extreme, as subjects failed overall to see heritage as a source of communal benefit. Subjects in these groups considered investment in the proposed projects as having generally little value. Their socially 'irrational' decisions hindered a prioritisation of non-heritage causes over heritage promotion (see excerpt 8.2). Thus, personal preferences were heavily influenced by subjects' failure to see the public benefit of heritage investments. In turn, this failure led to choices that served own interests and were quite influential for collective decisions (i.e. pushed down investment amounts). We observe this phenomenon in grassroots (T2G4) and non-participatory groups (T3G1), whereas a similar reasoning is employed by groups where there was no conflict of opinions (e.g. T4G2, T2G6). These finding supports our previous results regarding the influence of perceptions of heritage as policy priority on individual preferences. This contrasts sharply with occasions were social concerns dominated over individual ones (see for example excerpt 8.3).

T4G5S5: I think that instead of benefiting myself, I would rather give the money somewhere that it will be truly made into something… Even if I didn't work for the Archaeological Service, even if the money was allocated to a community association, I would still do the same. There would be much less value if I used the money individually and deprived it from an institution or an association that would invest them in common good.

Deliberation in Group T4G5 [8.3]

8.6.2 Institutional distrust

We observe that institutional distrust as the main source of conflict was prevalent only in T2 groups. In particular, we find that grassroots social structures, consisting exclusively of citizens, provided the space for the open expression of scepticism towards the capacity of the Archaeological Service to deliver the proposed projects effectively (see, for instance, excerpt 8.4). The expression of such feelings comes as no surprise given that our interviews with the local community had revealed strong feelings of citizens' distrust towards state heritage experts (see Chapter 6). Further, our quantitative analysis of personal preferences (see Section 8.3) had illuminated that trust towards the Archaeological Service exerted a significant influence on raising personal contributions to the heritage fund, implying that institutional trust is a powerful factor that induces people's communal spirit. According to Bhattacharya et al. (1998), trust is defined as 'an expectancy of positive outcomes one can receive based on the expected action of another party in an interaction characterised by uncertainty' (p. 462). Thus, it is plausible to argue that T2 groups were in a position to discuss their expectancy of positive outcomes from this uncertain interaction more freely than T4 groups in the absence of a state representative.

> T2G2S3: When we hear of such agents, we do not feel comfortable. We wonder whether this will actually happen or they will ignore it. […] I agree to allocate the whole amount to the heritage fund on condition that the project will be implemented. But who will guarantee this?
>
> Deliberation in Group T2G2 [8.4]

Interestingly, in cases where institutional distrust led groups to consider alternative policy scenarios, i.e. grassroots activities that could deliver communal benefits, such as allocating funds to a community association, the feelings of distrust moved to the community field. For example, in excerpt 8.5, we see that institutional distrust was equated with community distrust. In these cases, where concerns revolved around questions of 'who to trust more' – or more accurately, 'who we distrust less' to deliver the common good; a fellow citizen or an official state body, choices leant towards the latter and groups eventually decided to invest their resources in the heritage fund. Similar behaviour is observed in grassroots groups with

no conflict in their preferences (see for instance excerpt 8.6). Again, these findings offer support to our previous conclusion that collective decisions instead of building on trust, were driven by distrust. Most importantly, considering the high importance of community attachment and ideals in driving people's willingness to participate in heritage tourism planning (see Chapter 7), this lack of trust can prove particularly problematic in actual collective governance.

T2G2S1: If the endowment is allocated to the group fund, apart from losing state intervention, which is perhaps necessary, it also means that we enter into a phase where you don't know how money will be shared…

T2G2S2: And how would one know that the money was donated to Association 'X' and I didn't spend it myself?

T2G2S3: Nobody will know that.

T2G2S2: Therefore, the dilemma is exactly the same, either we allocate the money to the heritage fund or to the group fund.

Deliberation in Group T2G2 [8.5]

T2G6S1: We won't be able to monitor the development of these activities to make sure that the money is used towards this direction…

Deliberation in Group T2G6 [8.6]

8.6.3 Power clashes

A characteristic source of conflict in participatory (T4) groups was the emergence of power clashes between stakeholders that represented different administrative entities (e.g. the city council and the Archaeological Service). As it was revealed during deliberation, these clashes originated in prior personal disputes between participants. Especially in group T4G1, which consisted of two city council representatives and three citizens, power issues led to polarisation and dysfunctionality within the group as deliberation was heavily distracted by micro-political issues that moved beyond the experimental task. For example, a city council representative went as far as to opine that the scenarios appropriated his/her ideas for heritage tourism development (see excerpt 8.7). The researcher tried to appease the subject,

providing reassurance that there was no such intention and that – as underlined by another subject of the group – the scenarios drew from quite common heritage tourism tools. Then the subject continued by pointing out (invalid) omissions in the scenario and accusing 'a person' (without naming it) of having manipulated the scenarios. It was later revealed that there was pre-existing hostility between the subject, a particular person working with the Archaeological Service (not present in the session), and another group member (citizen) that had close friendship with the latter.

T4G1S1: I cannot participate. Because apart from the Archaeological Service, you should have also come to us. I have these things already scheduled… [Y]ou included Avgi and you didn't include Dispilio!

Researcher: Dispilio is also included…

T4G1S2: It is on the big map…

T4G1S1: Where did you get this from?

Researcher: We developed the scenarios so that discussion can take place.

T4G1S1: I cannot participate. I am opposed.

Researcher: If you are opposed because there are some omissions, you can discuss these with the group.

T4G1S1: No - I am opposed because *they* intrude to my fields.

Deliberation in Group T4G1 [8.7]

Although we cannot be sure about the background of this dispute, a plausible explanation is that political antagonisms were involved in this power game. For instance, it cannot be a coincidence that the city council representative was politically aligned with a right political party (*Nea Demokratia*) whereas the heritage official was a candidate with a left party (*Syriza*) during the previous local elections that had been held six months prior to the experiment. Overall, power clash had a negative influence on the democratic status of the deliberative process as the two opposing subjects (official and citizen) monopolized attention at the expense of a more constructive and balanced discussion. In spite of the negative climate, the group decided in favour of the two projects.

A similar behaviour was observed in group T4G5, again by a city council representative who employed a similar argumentation during deliberation. In particular, the subject suggested that Scenario 1 had important omissions. However, the subject eventually agreed to cooperate and the whole amount was allocated to the heritage fund unanimously. In the next round, the subject argued that Scenario 2 dealt with 'second-class' finds while Kastoria had much more important cultural resources to promote. To counter-argue, another subject (citizen) expressed their trust towards the expertise of the Archaeological service, which was opposed by the micro-political game of the city council representative (see excerpt 8.8).

T4G5S4: I am willing to give money to something much more important, not to something like that…

T4G5S1: I trust the archaeologists that have chosen to promote these particular artefacts. I don't think they did it in order to overestimate or underestimate any artefact, but because they know which ones will be more attractive to the public.

T4G5S4: It depends on *who* makes the proposal… what is the area of expertise of the archaeologist in charge…

Deliberation in Group T4G5 [8.8]

Interestingly, we find that competition between different types of heritage was invested with political stakes and that Kastoria city council opposed projects that promoted museums and sites that were located beyond its jurisdiction, even though the museum of Scenario 2 was regional and there were other reasons (i.e. personal rivalries) behind their opposition to this particular project. Localism was also observed in the behaviour of other city council representatives, although it was admittedly less aggressive. In the case of T4G5, there was majority decision in favour of the heritage fund, yet the group decided to split the available amount proportionally so that T4G5S4 could be excluded from the decision.

8.6.4 Project quality

Occasionally, in grassroots and participatory groups conflict on whether to invest or how much to invest in the heritage fund stemmed from the quality of the project itself. This

attitude was not rooted in perceptions of strategic marginality (see Section 8.5.1), as subjects did not oppose the financing of the heritage fund *per se* but rather expressed uncertainty of how a particular heritage investment scenario could bring about the desired ends.

These debates were fertile and raised issues that are very interesting in terms of revealing perceptions of heritage, heritage tourism and community. For example, in group T4G6, the debate was initiated by a government representative who expressed doubt on the value and necessity to implement Scenario 1. In response to this, a representative from the Archaeological Service raised the issue of credibility suggesting that they, as an official body of state experts are the 'keepers' of valid heritage knowledge (compared to information found on the web by non-experts; see excerpt 8.9). As Perkin (2010) observes, heritage institutions hold a privileged position as perceived centres of knowledge and authority that is often acknowledged and respected by the broader public. Indeed, here, citizens did not involve actively in challenging the project or in intervening to the dialogue between the heritage expert and the government representative.

T4G6S5: I don't find the proposed idea particularly effective, because more or less an average internet user can find this information on the web. There are photographs, information, links…

T4G6S4: There is plenty of unpublished material that people are not aware of. The Ephorate has knowledge of this material and has the expertise to use it. [This] information will be valid, because on the web everyone publishes whatever they want…

Deliberation in Group T4G6 [8.9]

Another interesting debate developed within a grassroots group (T2G3), going far beyond the project itself to discuss the potential of heritage tourism development and the market that it could attract (see, for example, excerpt 8.10). Suggestions were made for more inclusive routes, proposing additional sites that reflect community perceptions of 'what is heritage'.

T2G3S2: The local community of Kastoria and Argos Orestiko are not ready to welcome people that would like to see and learn things here. We have mostly learnt to expect tourists to come here, drink a coffee, have lunch and visit the Dragon's Cave or *any* Dragon's Cave.

T2G3S1: Some people might be interested into this.

T2G3S2: I think these are few. These attractions are very sophisticated. Visitation of these sites will be increased if all the area is promoted and attract more visitors by some other way.

T2G3S4: Don't use yourself as an example. I neither visit monasteries, but I am impressed by how many coaches visit the monastery in Kleisoura. From all over Greece!

Deliberation in Group T2G3 [8.10]

Overall, deliberation on project quality was valuable and promoted fruitful reflection and information-sharing among group members (see for example excerpt 8.11). Most crucially, consensual preferences were raised to social optimal, as debate on what is the best action (in terms of quality), did not disoriented participants from what is the right action (i.e. investing in a common good).

T2G3S1: In other cities, there are information maps that show the location of monuments.

T2G3S4: Here there is no guiding information. I know tourism professionals who complain that churches are permanently closed. It takes too much effort to open one once in a while.

T2G3S2: As far as I know the churches are locked and there is no staff to open them to the public. Last time I've been to a church, we called a neighbour to come and open.

T2G3S4: When I went, it was someone from the Archaeological Service that let us in and we had limited time to stay.

Deliberation in Group T2G3 [8.10]

8.6.5 Location rivalries

Our quantitative data analyses demonstrated that location exerted a significant influence on both intentions to participate (see Chapter 7) and individual preferences towards heritage (i.e. desired contributions to the heritage fund fell as we moved from Kastoria Town to the outskirts). During experimental deliberation, we further observe localism effects on some occasions, however these were not the *main* source of conflict (e.g. in group T4G1). In addition, we identify localism at various scales (e.g. towns, villages, even neighbourhoods) in groups with no conflictual preferences. For instance, in group T4G4, subjects chose purposely to confine their interest to the part of Scenario 1 that was relevant to their locality.

Merely in one case were location rivalries particularly intense and influential, namely in grassroots group T2G4. Quite interestingly, the decision in conflict concerned the scenario with the multiple locations (Scenario 1), to which participants objected not because it did not relate to their borough, but rather because it also concerned a 'rival' municipality (see excerpt 8.11). In their arguments, general references were made to 'previous injustices', implying that traditionally, policy prioritised the 'rival' borough over the others. Based on this premise, subjects decided collectively to allocate only part of their endowment to the heritage fund and as they stated, to use the rest for their town. It is perhaps impressive that even in this case, the extreme-selfish choice did not prevail but rather a collaborative attitude was sustained by the group (i.e. one subject suggested to allocate the whole amount to the group fund but the idea was rejected).

> T2G4S1: I refuse to allocate a high amount to a project that will help [the rival town] more than [subject's origin town] because as usual and as things work all these years, based on my experience, all regional funds are allocated to them.
>
> Deliberation in Group T2G4 [8.11]

Overall, we observe that neglect, which is a general feeling of the citizenry, in this case led to the 'demonization' of a neighbouring area. Yet, and quite ironically, the citizens of both areas share a similar sentiment (i.e. felt neglect by political leadership; see also Chapter 6). Although development across boroughs could present some inequalities (e.g. driven by population size

and economic significance), we hold that there were more similarities than differences across locations, given that problems were spread across the region at the time of the study (e.g. unemployment level is tremendous all over Kastoria). Thus, intra-regional partnerships need to be pursued to achieve holistic solutions whereas location rivalries, although marginal, need to be appeased.

8.7 Participatory planning in action: Concluding remarks based on experimental evidence

Time-consuming procedures, problems in reaching consensus and distrust in the quality of collective decisions have made the whole participation affair unpleasant for policymakers and heritage managers (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Jordan et al., 2013; Marzuki et al., 2012). However, there is little comparative evidence of participatory and counterfactual governance. Ergo, our experimental *ceteris paribus* results provide new insights that bust some of the 'myths' surrounding citizen-inclusive planning.

In particular, we find that participatory and non-participatory groups made equally pro-social choices whereas participatory groups made the highest total contributions (Hypothesis H4; see also Section 1.2, Chapter 1). Although participatory groups presented a higher tendency for conflict (Hypothesis H5), the latter was positively correlated with contributions to heritage, implying that conflict acted constructively rather than destructively. In fact, in all participatory groups collective decisions were higher than average individual preferences, suggesting that in conflictual situations pro-social choices always prevailed. Interestingly, the opposite holds for non-participatory groups where conflict was negatively correlated to contributions. Deliberation time was also positively correlated with contributions, proposing that a more time-consuming process can eventually pay-off in terms of decision quality.

As reported in the literature, a central problem to citizen inclusiveness is the representation of heterogeneous perceptions and interests (Byrd et al., 2009; Jordan et al., 2013; Ostrom, 1990; Waligo et al., 2013). However interestingly, experimental findings suggest that participatory groups are not inherently more heterogeneous - in fact, the supposedly more homogeneous groups presented higher dissimilarity scores in critical matters that shaped policy preferences (e.g. perceptions of stakeholders' credibility; Hypothesis H6).

Furthermore, despite previous concerns that the most persuasive and powerful could use participation as a means to promote their own ends (Bevir, 2013; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004), our experimental evidence shows that participatory groups were rather resistant to favouring egotistic interests. As both traditional 'power-holders' and citizens did occasionally oppose heritage investments, participatory groups were rather successful in balancing power in favour of commonly beneficial choices. Exposed causes of dispute are particularly interesting, lending support to our previous findings (e.g. community scepticism about state heritage experts). Yet, we observe that communication in participatory social settings has potential for appeasing problematic areas, such as institutional distrust (a frequent source of conflict in citizen groups, which had much less effect on participatory groups) and helping community and experts to work collaboratively for the delivery of communal benefits.

CHAPTER 9
Instigating community-led planning: A synthesis

9.1 Introduction

Founded on the premise that community participation in the planning of heritage tourism is fundamental to sustainability, the thesis sought to explore how destinations can instigate community-inclusive collaborations using the case-study of Kastoria in Greece. This chapter provides a synthesis of our empirical findings, i.e. interviews, survey and experimental data, in order to identify how our fieldwork research can inform policy and practice. Based on the theoretical threads presented in Chapter 3, our synthesis discusses community-based interpretations and traditions (e.g. heritage narratives and traditions of distrust; Bevir, 2013), subjective valuations of expected utility in exchange for participation (i.e. heritage, tourism, and communal reinforcement; Emerson, 1976; 1987), and the dynamics of community cooperation for the collective provision of heritage goods (e.g. the influence of trust and perceptions in decision-making; Ostrom, 1990). Along with these general theoretical lenses, our discussion also draws from the broader literature to elaborate on its empirical conclusions and bridge them with theory.

Throughout this composition, the thesis extracts several interesting themes that can critically inform the initiation of participatory planning for sustainable heritage tourism. These revolve around heritage conflicts and dipoles, such as the dichotomies between official and unofficial, extraordinary and ordinary, dominant and emergent heritage (Hall, 1997; Williams, 1958), participation as community-emergent (Etzioni, 2015), and (dis)trust as key to cooperation (Lo et al., 2013; Nunkoo & Ramkinssoon, 2011). Following this analysis, the chapter argues that the instigation of community-led heritage tourism planning could be better seen as a transformative process. In particular, it should target at the gradual change of local policy from top-down to more democratic/pluralist in parallel to the continuous improvement of its broader communal traditions with the view to build a sustainable destination and a sustainable community.

9.2 Broader context: Heritage that unites and heritage that divides

As discussed in Chapter 3, social interpretivism proposes that communities are formed by situated agents, whose attitudes are shaped by meaning-making against a background of previous experiences and norms (Bevir, 2013; Ron, 2016). Thus, in order to understand people's behaviour, we need to capture their 'traditions', namely the impact of the past and its practices on present and future social action (Bevir, 2013). In turn, critical theory suggests that culture and by extension, heritage is about shared meanings (Hall, 1997). This implies that different community groups may develop different individual and collective narratives of what is heritage and what is its value for society. In this context, meanings become contested and need to be negotiated, given that consistency or compromise in heritage valuations is necessary for collective decision-making (Bessiere, 2013). Based on this, the thesis argues that an exploration of heritage narratives across community is particularly useful for informing the design of participatory strategies.

As it was discussed in Chapter 6, our interviews with the local community revealed state experts' role as the principal custodians of material cultural heritage and their stance towards current and desired interactions between monuments and the broader public. Our analysis postulated that heritage management practice at Kastoria was largely shaped by Harrison's (2011) distinction between 'official' and 'unofficial' heritage and Smith's (2006) Authorised Heritage Discourses (AHD) that define heritage as tangible, monumental, and 'self-evidently' significant. This ideological (state-driven) stance appears to also permeate non-expert community accounts and (conscious) perceptions of heritage. For instance, the majority of interviewees defined local heritage by referring to official sites, such as the Byzantine churches, the mansions and the pre-historic Lake Settlement, through a rather detached description (e.g. a simple mention, impersonal tone).

Components of unofficial heritage, such as Kastoria's lake, local cultural practices and craftsmanship were normally excluded from initial accounts of 'what is heritage' but emerged later in discussions with non-experts, in a quite vivid way (e.g. lots of details, personal experiences, spontaneity). This led us to propose that unofficial (i.e. formally-unrecognised and non-state protected) 'subconscious' heritage had a central role in community identity

and sense of place at the same time that emotional and cognitive connections to official (i.e. formally-recognised and state-protected) heritage were rather weak for a considerable part of the community (e.g. some respondents admitted that they had never visited the official sites they described as heritage). In fact, our subsequent attitudinal survey lent support to this argument as most heritage values ascribed to official heritage were found to exert little influence on respondents, contrary to identity traits attached to unofficial heritage (see also Section 9.3.1).

In addition, based on qualitative interview data, it was argued that heritage management 'traditions' at Kastoria – predominantly, the emphasis on material conservation, marginalization of access, negligence of adaptive re-use along with limited public engagement have contributed to the development of a community culture of 'detachment' from state protected heritage resources. The most radical expression of this detachment was hostility towards heritage. As Chirikure et al. (2010) underline, alienated communities can see heritage resources as liabilities that pose pressures to competing economic activities. Thus, we hold that local phenomena, such as intentional neglect and vandalisms to state-protected buildings represent the bitter consequences of this alienation. For the detached social actors that exhibit hostile behaviour towards heritage the question of 'why shall we preserve the past' demands for a more convincing, personally and collectively relevant justification. This is critical as shared norms within a destination (e.g. a general caring mentality for heritage future) can play an instrumental role in participatory policy choices (Ostrom, 1990).

Furthermore, based on Kastoria's existing heritage management apparatus, social actors that were mentally and emotionally attached to heritage (e.g. those who showed a genuine interest in and knowledge of official heritage resources) remained nonetheless largely excluded from state action and interaction with heritage. For instance, it was claimed that those who wished to contribute to conservation (e.g. by preserving a privately-owned traditional house) received little support from the state at both financial and technical levels (e.g. low economic incentives coupled with highly bureaucratic procedures, as it is also documented by Europa Nostra assessment report for Kastoria; see de Leon, 2015). In parallel, we observed that low transparency and public accountability on behalf of heritage state authorities towards the public sustained information asymmetries and a climate of mutual

distrust between local authorities and the broader community (see for instance, excerpt 6.5, page 155, where the metanarrative is the mismanagement of public funds by the local Ephorate of Antiquities during a restoration project in Apozari).

By witnessing these local 'traditions', it was postulated that the physical and mental exclusion of the non-expert community and visitors from the official heritage sites of Kastoria (e.g. the permanently closed Medieval churches), which were closely guarded by the state and its appointed experts contributed to a state of heritage unviability. This does not mean to suggest that this was the only factor that led to lack of sustainability as there were indeed intense problems that hinder conservation, such as limited funds, but rather that it deteriorated an already problematic situation. In particular, a 'conservation for conservation' mentality under the ideological premise of intrinsic values and AHD (Smith, 2006; Waterton & Smith, 2010) created divisions between stakeholders that in turn, 'back-fired' to heritage and to community as a whole.

Through its social interpretation, the thesis argued that at first level, state experts distanced themselves from the community, because of their anxiety to protect heritage (and the low government pressures for public engagement), while they indirectly discouraged community interaction with it (e.g. through learning and recreation). It was further held that at second level, conflict was transferred to the non-state expert arena, creating discord between community members who wanted to protect heritage and those who wished to destroy it (the community dispute regarding Mathioudakis building is illustrative of this point; see Section 6.3). Consequently, instead of acting as a medium that united people, heritage was turned into a field that eventually divided them. In addition, it is maintained that experts' detachment from community and community detachment from heritage confined the choices and capacity of the former to tackle heritage management issues more effectively and overcome or at least, reduce the magnitude of practical problems (e.g. by drawing on social capital to cover for insufficient state resources). Therefore, it seems that the long-term impacts of community exclusion that originally sought to protect heritage led ultimately to reverse effects (i.e. hostility and persisting conservation obstacles).

Given the existing set of destination circumstances and its resonances, it appears that a change of current management traditions is critical. On the one hand, top-down management needs to facilitate community involvement in action for and interaction with heritage, prior to and during participatory planning. On the other hand, policy norms and traditions need to be transformed and broaden their heritage narratives with the view to encompass unofficial heritage discourses that will make heritage tourism planning relevant to broader parts of the community to serve sustainability. These changes will be vital for securing the long-term viability of public involvement and for avoiding participation ending up being tokenistic. For these to happen and in order to make participation meaningful, it will be thus necessary to first change certain 'traditions' and perceptions that relate to the role of heritage (e.g. as asset and identity element rather than as liability), while crystallizing the position of citizens and experts as both active collaborators for the provision of heritage goods (Bevir, 2013; Ostrom, 1990).

9.3 Why to participate: Community incentives as values of social exchanges

As explained in Chapter 3, the voluntary character of participation in heritage tourism planning suggests that before instigating participation we need to gain knowledge of people's incentives to engage in complex policy issues (Ashell & Gash, 2008; Crooke, 2008; Fan, 2013; Perkin, 2010). Based on social exchange theory, the thesis proposed that the attitude of community members can be explained by a series of relative values (i.e. economic and non-economic rewards and loses) as driving their intentions to be involved (Emerson, 1976; 1987). Thus, by using an attitudinal survey instrument, the study tested empirically the influence of heritage values, tourism impacts and community ideals on different sections of the community (see Chapter 7). The following lines provide an account of our key findings and our reflections on participatory design.

9.3.1 Heritage values: Drivers or barriers to participation?

In Chapter 7, we discussed the role of heritage values in shaping community willingness to participate in future heritage tourism planning. In particular, we found that the majority of considered heritage values had little effect on altering people's attitude to be involved. The

AHD-based 'inherent' qualities (e.g. universality, bequest, scientific), as defined in Chapter 6, had a positive influence only on respondents with heritage-related education, whereas notions coined as 'resistance to change' (i.e. ideas that assigned importance to heritage conservation and its prioritisation over modernisation) were mostly insignificant across our sample. As argued earlier in this chapter (see Section 9.2), we hold that a lack of influence by these values lends support to our interpretation of community as 'detached' given that mental and sentimental distance from official heritage and its discourses could had possibly led to low appreciation and thus, low impact of these meanings on motivating people's future participation in heritage public policy.

Contrary to the above-described insignificant motivators, our data revealed that there were two sets of heritage values that had a strong influence on shaping community willingness to participate, although their influence was contrastive. More specifically, survey results showed that respondents' perceptions relating to 'emblematic and accessible' heritage (namely, ideas that related to key monuments within Kastoria's historic core and their public access) acted as drivers to participation (i.e. the more respondents acknowledged these values, the more they were willing to participate in future heritage tourism policy). These applied particularly to respondents with higher but no relevant education (i.e. non-experts), to those living within the historic city neighbourhoods (suggesting effects of spatial proximity to heritage) and to those employed in the tourism sector (implying tourism interest in heritage).

As highlighted previously, limited public access to heritage sites, such as churches and mansions, was a high local concern that emerged repeatedly throughout fieldwork research (i.e. in interviews and during experiment deliberation; see indicatively excerpt 6.4, page 158 and 8.10, page 224). From a social-exchange theory perspective, it is plausible to argue that community members seemed positive towards the possibility to 'exchange' effort and time spent in policy issues for correcting their exclusion from interacting with heritage. This implies that participatory design needs to place public inclusion and access high in its agenda, given that these are key components of stakeholders expected utility (Emerson, 1987; Gaventa, 2004).

Interestingly, our empirical results further suggested that heritage values relating to communal identity and memory served as barriers to involvement (i.e. the more respondents acknowledged these values, the less they were willing to participate in future heritage tourism policy). In order to explain this paradox, we explored the 'profile' of heritage that demotivated people to participate by looking at the content of statement items comprising the principal component factor. We discovered that contrary to the 'emblematic and accessibility' values, which related to official heritage within Kastoria Town (i.e. mansions, churches), communal identity and memory traits concerned intangible unofficial heritage elements; namely, traditional customs, vernacular architecture, and local fur clothing craftsmanship (see Section 5.3.1 for a description of this heritage; see Appendix C for details regarding the content of factor statements).

Our further exploration into demographic sub-samples illuminated that the negative impact of these values on respondents' attitude towards participation was more evident for old-timers (i.e. those who had lived in Kastoria for at least 20 years), for those without heritage education (i.e. non-experts) or for those not employed by tourism (for control groups the stimulus was insignificant). When we deconstructed the factor component and explored variation across responses to statement items (namely, which respondents rated each statement higher when differences were statistically significant), we established that unofficial heritage appealed mostly to those at lower/non-specialised education clusters (see Section 7.7). In contrast, appreciation for 'emblematic and accessible' official heritage did not reveal any such dichotomous pattern. Thus, it appears that identity values were most commonly assigned to heritage by 'ordinary' citizens, a finding that complies with previous work in the heritage field (e.g. Fouseki & Sakka, 2013; Mydland & Grahn, 2012; Smith, 2009). These identity traits concerned predominantly unofficial discourses of heritage.

According to critical theorist Raymond Williams (1958), the making of community is performed through the finding of common meanings, developed through social experience and contact. As community and heritage are socially constructed (Hall, 1997; Mason, 2002) and following Williams' (1958) concept of culture as 'ordinary', it was suggested that unofficial heritage, through people's artistic expressions and learnings (e.g. the passing of fur craftsmanship knowledge across generations) consolidated a form of 'ordinary heritage' that

was practiced and celebrated collectively and which existed in parallel to the 'extraordinary' but alienated remains of the past (i.e. official heritage). The socially-constructed meanings of heritage, and by extension, the process of collective identity formation through 'ordinary' cultural expressions were already evident in interview data, which documented that local customs and traditions held a prominent place in local communal identity (see Section 6.4). As discussed in the previous section, community accounts hardly labelled local cultural practices as 'heritage', yet their descriptions still bore the heritage qualities of intergenerational continuity and inclusiveness (Fouseki & Cassar, 2015). Similarly, the perception that fur craftsmanship, a tradition that was believed to had its origins in Medieval times (see Chapter 5), shaped local community identity but was nonetheless largely disconnected from heritage narratives. Our position was that there is a key distinction between this 'emergent' heritage (Williams, 1997; see also Section 7.8, Chapter 7) and Kastoria's 'dominant' heritage as the latter was privileged whereas the former was 'owned' by its local community.

The question that follows on from such an observation is why communal identity values attached to emergent (unofficial) heritage were found to hinder intentions to participate. For example, this could imply that collective legacy is egotistical, meaning that community members are possessive of their heritage and refuse to share it with outsiders, such as foreign visitors (Lowenthal, 2015). Alternatively, this may be due to community's fear that tourism would cause undesirable transformations to their heritage, or it might even manifest their concerns of losing ownership and the right to practice it (Suntikul & Jachna, 2013; (Wang & Bramwell, 2012). According to the literature (Nyaupane et al., 2006; Suntikul & Jachna, 2013; Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009; Wang & Bramwell, 2012), a plausible argument is that tourism development can be perceived as threat, in terms of disrupting the cultural fabric and social cohesion role that this particular heritage serves for local people. In turn, these concerns instead of mobilising participation, they cause people's resistance towards forming part of or consenting to a process that may lead to the 'marketization' and 'commodification' of heritage for tourism purposes. In this case, marketization and commodification were perceived as negative reinforcements and aversive stimuli to participatory heritage tourism planning (Emerson, 1976). Another plausible explanation may relate to the unrecognised status of unofficial heritage by top-down discourses. In particular, it is possible that

community members viewed intangible 'ordinary' heritage as extraneous to heritage tourism activity and by extension, their potential involvement in planning policy as irrelevant. Based on the above, the design of invited spaces for participation presupposes that top-down management will invite those at the bottom to 'set the rules' of unofficial heritage appropriation by tourism activities. This will be crucial for accommodating local aspirations and promoting shared responsibility over sustainable policy implementation (Araujo & Bramwell, 1999; Linett, 2010; Nelson & Schreiber, 2009).

9.3.2 Expected tourism impacts of a marginal tourism sector

A strand of the tourism literature demonstrates empirically that community members who perceive a higher level of tourism gains normally retain a more positive attitude towards tourism development (see *inter alia* Andereck et al. 2005; Chen & Chen, 2010; Choi & Murray, 2010; Gursoy et al., 2002; Vargas-Sanchez et al., 2011). Based on this premise, we explored whether perceptions of tourism or expected tourism impacts in an emerging destination such as Kastoria extend their influence on positive attitudes towards participation in tourism planning. Our empirical investigation demonstrated that contrary to common departures in the existing literature (see, among others, Saufi et al., 2014; Stone & Stone, 2011; Wang et al., 2010), an emphasis on economic incentives cannot sufficiently explain or inform the mobilization process of participatory planning, especially in emerging destinations. This is because our data suggested that neither tourism-related nor pure economic benefits exerted major influences on motivating community members to participate in public heritage tourism policy.

More specifically, we found that a high (low) expectation of positive tourism effects, a low (high) appreciation of future negative tourism impacts, and confidence (scepticism) in destination's potential to stimulate tourism-led economic growth are all disconnected from social exchanges for participating (i.e. either community members exhibited high or low expectations/confidence, this did not alter their willingness to participate significantly). Drawing on our observations, we suggested that in emerging destinations, where tourism effects have not yet made a strong and visible appearance, it may be ineffective to rely too

heavily on economic incentives to engage with the community or define those as the primary expected rewards in order to persuade people to be involved.

As discussed in Chapter 5, both the number of tourism businesses and tourism arrivals illustrated the relatively marginal role of tourism in local economic activity (see Section 5.4.2). Considering the economic landscape of Kastoria at the time of the study, it is thus reasonable to argue that tourism impacts were not particularly felt by a major part of respondents. Further, it has been proposed that communities of emerging destinations have limited capacity to visualise tourism impacts, especially the negative ones (Reid et al., 2004). Therefore, expected satisfaction from participation is not linked to tourism/economic returns as a social exchange (Blau, 1964; Emerson, 1987). Rather, as it is argued elsewhere, the social and psychological rewards of participating in public policy matters may be more important than tangible gains (Fairclough, 2001). Thus, we hold that at initial stages of heritage tourism planning, where most community members do not engage or have not intensively experienced the effects of tourism on their daily lives, tourism-related incentives are not adequate for instigating their engagement.

9.3.3 Community attachment and the spatial dimension of heritage

Interestingly, our study evidences that community ideals and place attachment are much more powerful drivers to people's willingness to participate. In particular, expected communal gains of participation (e.g. reinforcing social ties, achieving commonly beneficial policy, contributing to experts' work), connection to place and faith in the collective power to reverse current malaise were found to impact intentions to participate significantly positively (i.e. the proponents of these ideas were much more willing to take part in participatory policy compared to other respondents). Some earlier tourism studies suggest that communal non-economic improvements (e.g. community attachment) improve support for tourism development significantly (Chen & Chen, 2010; Choi & Murray, 2010; Sirikaya et al., 2002). Our study extends this interesting line of research by evidencing that communal ideals further improve support for participatory planning. These results also provide empirical evidence to political communitarianism, which holds that participation emerges socially and is mobilised by community membership (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009; Etzioni, 2015).

Furthermore, a closer investigation of respondents' profile and their responses to community variables illuminated a positive connection between appreciation for communal ideals and community attachment, as reflected by tenure in the destination (i.e. length of residency), and previous experience in communal activity (e.g. local association membership). In addition, we observed that spatial proximity to heritage resources (e.g. living within the historic districts of Kastoria or close to the lake) reinforced place attachment and advocacy for participatory planning. Commonly to the previous literature, we use the terms community and place attachment interchangeably (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). This is to imply the two-dimensional nature of community attachment as both social (i.e. social interactions, integration into the community) and physical (namely, rootedness and affinity to a specific place; Chen & Chen, 2010; Choi & Murray, 2010; McCool & Martin, 1994). Our position is that places serve as repositories within which personal and community bonds are nurtured and hence a distinction between sense of community and sense of place may be misleading, as internal personal processes of meaning-making overlap with external social ones. Indeed, researchers such as Manzo & Perkins (2006) suggest that people's emotional bonds to place and their sense of community are frequently intertwined. Moreover, affective links between people, communities and places exist often subconsciously and operate at multiple levels (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Manzo & Perkins, 2006). This might justify the contradiction between subjects' strong sense of place-based ties and intra-community distrust.

The positive correlation between length of residency and community attachment (i.e. old-timers were more concerned with community ideals than newcomers) illustrates that the latter develops through long-term relationships and interactions, during which 'spaces' evolve into 'places' endowed with personal meanings and emotional connections (Brown & Perkins, 1992). As Manzo and Brown (2006) argue, these emotional connections to place can make a critical contribution to citizen participation but have been rather neglected by most planning efforts. Our empirical results provide support to this argument, proposing that fostering a sense of place and community can be key to successful participatory planning. Furthermore, the fact that association membership increases subjects' appreciation of community ideals, their community ties and their willingness for involvement is also documented in the literature. In particular, it is suggested that individuals who join community associations enhance their social ties and sense of community, whereas they

cultivate collective action and cooperation (Theiss-Morse & Hibbing, 2005; Wollebaek & Selle, 2002). This indicates that community associations as existing organizational structures of community-based collective action can act as pools of participants at initial stages.

In addition, the detected connection between place attachment and heritage is also particularly interesting as it 'unlocks' a new interpretation of our interview discourses. More specifically, we observe a spatial dimension to community's performance of identity reminders; a phenomenon where local intangible culture is practiced in public spaces and is connected to heritage landscapes. For instance, 'Ragkoutariya' (the local carnival) and other folk traditions, such as 'Boubounes' (public dance around big fires) are performed in shared outdoor places (e.g. public squares), whereas some of them feature heritage places integrally, such as 'Kleidonas', which starts with the gathering of water from Orestias Lake in a clay pot and finishes with the pouring of water back to it (interviewee ACDM_2). It is also relevant to note that local narratives documented a community that was seeking to establish links between its present culture and its heritage past at a spatial (and spiritual) level. For example, community associations were requesting permission from the Archaeological Service to hold their events at Koumbelidiki church square 'because of its historicity' (interviewee GRMV_5). These examples document the relationship between heritage and place attachments and the spatial/physical role of heritage in the process of community bonding.

More interestingly, the web of relationships between heritage, identity values, community attachment and intentions towards participation presents an interesting oxymoron. At first, it was observed that identity values attached to heritage, and especially to intangible unofficial heritage, discouraged participation instead of promoting it (see Section 9.3.1). Rather, communal ideals acted as strong incentives for potential involvement, and these were positively correlated with community attachment. Such correlation implied that the more people felt a sense of place, the more they were willing to take part in policy. At the same time, appreciation of unofficial intangible heritage as source of collective identity, which appeared to directly demotivate participation, did also increase respondents' feelings of attachment. This oxymoron illuminates that although identity heritage values were presented to hinder participation directly, in essence they promoted it in an indirect way as they had strengthened community ties (see Figure 9.1, page 240).

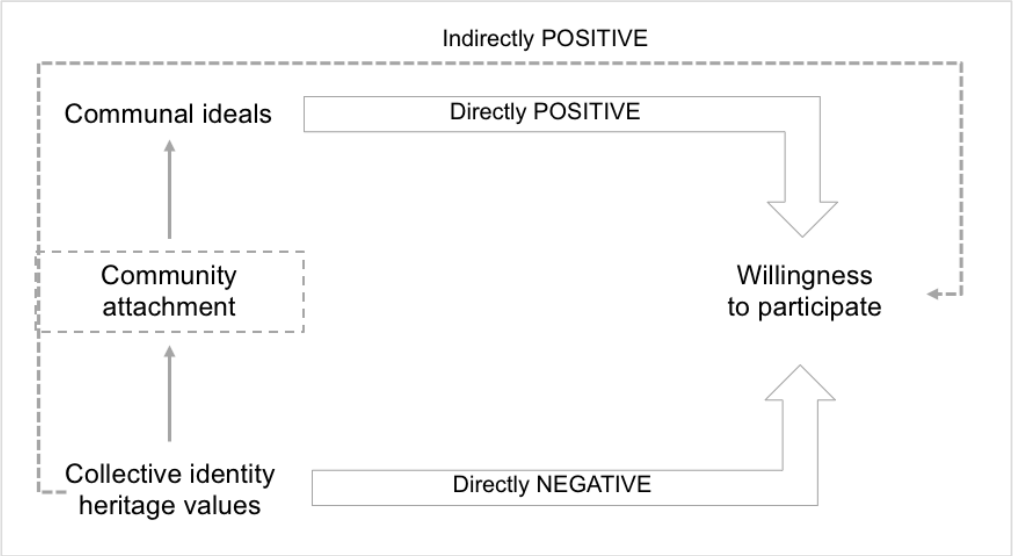

Figure 9.1 The oxymoron of identity values and intentions to participate.

These are important pieces in the puzzle of participation. As discussed in Chapter 3, political communitarianism suggests that social action is mobilised by community membership and by socially-formulated values (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009; Etzioni, 2015). Thus, accepting that participation emerges socially and that unofficial heritage is invested with communal identity values, which in turn increase expected utility from participating (as a means to reinforce social ties), implies that unofficial heritage can offer a fertile ground for engaging with non-expert publics in heritage tourism policy. In fact, a collaborative project that focuses on ordinary/emergent heritage and emphasises community ideals can have multiple benefits as a 'pilot' for instigating participation. First, it will provide the space for cultivating relationships and trust between stakeholders thus, helping set the institutional arrangements for encouraging cooperation (Ostrom, 1990). Second, it will offer a platform for nourishing citizen empowerment and the political culture of involvement in policy, which will unavoidably require time for both sides, i.e. citizens themselves and state officials (Bevir, 2013). Moreover, given the long-standing 'tradition' of expert control over official heritage and professional anxiety, the initiation of participatory endeavours with unofficial heritage can form the transitional basis for the testing of the new approach in destinations that attempt participatory heritage tourism planning for the first time. As Ostrom (1990) suggests in her theory, beginning with small-scale initiatives can help community members build on their social capital and then move to larger and more complex institutional arrangements.

9.4 Why to cooperate: The dynamics of collaborative decision-making

Having documented the diversity of local perceptions and the complexity of community stakeholders' relationships, our experiment at Kastoria provided us with the opportunity to 'simulate' participation in order to conduct an initial diagnostic assessment of collaborative decision-making. The social dilemma setting inspired by Ostrom's (1990) common-pool resources theory allowed us to directly compare effectiveness, deliberation, conflict, and negotiation across these structures of governance for the first time in the literature and observe the strengths and weaknesses of participation in a destination with no such prior experience. As shown in Chapter 8, we drew several interesting insights with regards to co-operation for the provision of heritage resources in uni-stakeholder (either government or citizens) and multi-stakeholder (both government and citizens) set-ups. The following paragraphs discuss our empirical evidence in order to inform the institutional arrangements of participatory design.

9.4.1 Participatory *versus* non-participatory decisions

As elaborated in Chapter 3, the key message of Ostrom's (1990) work is that communities can avoid the 'tragedy of the commons' (Hardin, 1968) through agency and cooperation. Indeed, our experimental results were generally encouraging, suggesting that citizen-inclusive participatory groups co-operated equally to non-participatory government groups that conventionally reflected top-down management in the provision of heritage during both experimental rounds (i.e. there were no statistically significant differences in their collective contributions, whereas in the second round, participatory groups were slightly more co-operative, in terms of actual monetary provisions). This indicated that collaboration between traditional power-holders and the citizenry can build on the foundation that both sides are willing to jointly support heritage investments in order to generate communal benefits.

Nevertheless, joint provisions for heritage were not always as straightforward for participatory groups as they were for government decision-makers, given that participatory structures were significantly more susceptible to conflict. The latter reflected divergent preferences among group members with regards to their desired course of policy action and

subsequently, the amount of financial resources (i.e. endowment) that they wished to allocate to the heritage fund. As the recordings data revealed, these preferences were formulated prior to decision-making or at least drew to a certain degree on previous perceptions and experiences of the subjects in line to Bevir (2013). As Fischer (2006) postulates, participation occurs in a social space and is shaped by the specific beliefs and norms of the social actors that enter it. For this reason, our background knowledge (initial conditions assessment of broader context and participation incentives) was valuable for informing our interpretation of conflict and in turn, feeding new information back into our previous assessments.

Interestingly, when acted autonomously, citizens exhibited less co-operative behaviour in the first round of the experiment (i.e. their contributions were significantly lower compared to government and participatory groups) but were as co-operative as other treatment groups in the second round. Deliberation between citizens expressed their low trust to state authorities, a feeling that was naturally not so openly expressed in participatory contexts where experts were present. Across all group formations, there was occasionally a prioritisation of own as opposed to collective needs and of other agendas within or beyond the heritage realm, influencing policy decisions in directions that could favour a particular segment of the community instead of community as a whole. The content of deliberation through recordings data revealed that decision-making between citizens did not always exhibit a desire to contribute to the heritage fund (e.g. T2G6 decided to employ the funds for financing their own educational activities and T2G4 said they would use the money to buy supplies for the poorest in their neighbourhood) probably assuming that provision for heritage resources would not generate future public or personal rewards, or because they expected others' heritage provisions (Ostrom, 1990; see also Section 8.5).

In contrast, participatory group dynamics were more effective in allowing for the negotiation of competing interests and trustworthiness among participants, advancing their cooperation for policies that were commonly beneficial and hoping that their good deed would be reciprocated in the future (Theiss-Morse & Hibbing, 2005). This may explain why the duration of deliberation was positively correlated with cooperative behaviour in participatory groups (i.e. when deliberation time increased, contributions to heritage increased, as well). Further,

intra-group dissimilarity scores of participants' perceptions and preferences suggested that participatory multi-stakeholder groups were not inherently more ideologically heterogeneous than groups consisting exclusively of either government or citizen representatives (see Table 8.9, page 213). The latter illustrated that supposedly homogeneous social actors (e.g. government and citizenry) should not be treated as uniform entities.

9.4.2 Destructive conflict *versus* constructive conflict

Ostrom (1990) maintained that institutional variables, such as heterogeneity of interests influence decisions of social actors. Previous governance literature also suggests that pluralist as compared to less inclusive structures of governance tone up the expression of opposing policy preferences (Ebdon, 2000; Ebdon & Franklin, 2008). As it is often suggested, disparity and often incompatibility of interests across the different stakeholders involved in decision-making gives rise to conflict, complicates collaboration and decreases governance effectiveness (Byrd et al., 2009; Izdiak et al., 2015; Jordan et al., 2013; Waligo et al., 2013). In this light, conflict is viewed as a destructive force that generally hinders community involvement processes (Byrd et al., 2009; Marzuki et al., 2012).

Contrary to these arguments, our experimental data narrated a different story. Indeed, in our study participatory decision-making exhibited a higher propensity for conflict (i.e. conflict in participatory groups was significantly higher than conflict in non-participatory groups). However, as established earlier, both participatory and non-participatory groups expressed an equally cooperative behaviour in providing for heritage, providing a first indication that conflict may not have acted as destructively for policy as it could have been expected. Indeed, our correlation tests demonstrated that during collaborative decision-making, conflict and contributions to heritage were positively correlated (see Table 8.6, page 207). This means that in the majority of conflict cases, final collective choices were higher than average individual preferences. In turn, this implies that in conflictual situations, disagreement and 'clash' of interests worked mainly constructively rather than destructively, mobilising higher co-operation and lifting up heritage investments.

Interestingly, negotiation dynamics as extracted by recordings data suggested that a constructive role of conflict played when group majority exhibited a collaborative behaviour towards its fellow members (Rahim, 2001; Thomas, 2002; see Table 8.10, page 215). Only when group majority exhibited a contending attitude to negotiation did conflict push contributions to heritage goods down. In participatory groups, which showed higher susceptibility to conflict, collaborative attitudes prevailed and decisions showed resilience to favouring individual interests by balancing power in favour of what was more commonly beneficial. Therefore, high conflict *per se* should not be seen as a barrier to participatory governance, given that it can lead to constructive negotiation if the majority of participants are willing to compromise.

9.4.3 Traditions of mutual distrust

As demonstrated by interview data, the broader community of Kastoria painted a picture of distant, unaccountable or even corrupt local state institutions based on its past experiences (see Sections 6.2, 6.5). At the same time, heritage state professionals expressed distrust towards the broader community as they felt highly accountable for protecting heritage from vandalism, thievery and misappropriation caused by non-expert publics.

The literature supports that participatory governance is complicated by the levels of trust that exist between those involved in decision-making (Hughes et al., 2016). Further, it is maintained that high distrust erodes the chances of successful participatory processes as it affects participants' perceptions of risk (Dietz & Stern, 2008). Similarly, Ostrom's (1990) theory posits that the effectiveness of administrative and political apparatuses affects individual choices. In turn, perceived effectiveness is informed historically and builds on past experiences. As Bevir (2013) proposes, context-specific traditions, such as diffused distrust observed in this case-study, formulate the background upon which social actors respond to emerging situations and choices. Hence, a reasonable question to ask was how such traditions of reciprocal distrust would play in collaborative decision-settings in order to inform the instigation of participatory planning.

Interestingly, data collected during experimental sessions complied largely to previous work as it exposed trust as a highly influential force of driving individual and collective choices (see Chapter 8). More specifically, our experimental results suggested that during the endowment allocation task, individual preferences were affected significantly positively by confidence in citizens and by state experts perceived reliability (see Section 8.5). Put simply, the more subjects declared trusting the citizenry and the Ephorate of Antiquities prior to the task (stated in a questionnaire at the beginning of the session), the more cooperative behaviour they exhibited during experimental deliberation (i.e. they were willing to invest more funds to heritage provisions). According to Nunkoo and Ramkinssoon (2011), trust plays a pivotal role in social exchanges and is critical for promoting communal benefits. Our findings confirm this argument as institutional and citizenry trust induced participants' altruism (i.e. the more trust citizens placed on government agents and vice versa, the higher were their social preferences).

Having established that trust influenced individual preferences during the experiment, our analysis continued to explore trust effects at collective level. It did so by measuring the intra-group heterogeneity of trust and its impact on cooperation. It was then observed that collective decisions were significantly affected by dissimilarity in participants' feelings of trust towards other stakeholders. Especially divergence of opinions relating to the credibility of local state heritage officials influenced collective choices significantly negatively (i.e. discrepancy of trust between the members of a group pushed collective investments to heritage down). An interesting contradiction was detected for polarities that concerned stakeholders that were 'antagonistic' to state heritage experts (e.g. private sector), where dissimilarity of views on the credibility of the central and regional governments, tour operators, heritage freelancers and community associations affected collective choices positively (i.e. discrepancy of trust between the members of a group towards the said stakeholders increased contributions to heritage).

This contrast raised our suspicion that although trust drove cooperative behaviour at individual level, it might have been distrust that dictated selected course of action in collective settings. For instance, when some group members were sceptical about heritage officials (mainly due to perceptions of incompetence), their distrust prevailed and groups decreased

their collective contributions to heritage (as, by experimental design, the 'distrusted' heritage officials would undertake the implementation of proposed scenarios). Likewise, when certain group members had reservations about rival agents (e.g. heritage freelancers or community associations) as the potential administrators of alternative course of action, their reservations prevailed and groups chose to assign higher endowments to the heritage state leader. Such explanation is plausible given that Ostrom (1990) in her analysis of collective governance for common-pool resources suggests that decisions are impacted by participants' subjective judgements of the effectiveness of the administrative apparatus that is expected to undertake the application of approved policies. Further, Lo et al. (2013) stress that joint policy choices are affected by perceptions of trust and shared agreement over institutional credibility.

Indeed, the qualitative content of deliberation during the allocation task confirmed our inferences regarding trust issues drawn from quantitative data. In particular, the recordings of experimental discussions revealed that grassroots (citizen) groups were particularly prone to conflict situations arising from institutional distrust. Certain subjects expressed their concerns stemming from their feelings of distrust towards the local heritage office, which in turn decreased their willingness to co-operate in providing for the heritage good. On this premise, intra-group negotiations concentrated on alternative policy scenarios, such as grassroots activities that could deliver communal gains, for instance by allocating the available resources (i.e. endowment) to a community association. However, quite interestingly, in certain cases these negotiations failed to reach consensus because feelings of distrust shifted from the institutional to the citizenry milieu (see indicatively excerpt 8.5, page 220).

Overall, we appreciate that collective decisions for budgetary allocation were made in an uncertain collaborative planning environment. As in most real policymaking contexts, there was no firm guarantee that the heritage office would utilise its assigned resources effectively or that project scenarios would be *de jure* successful. Experimental collaboration reached a compromise that was mostly determined by participants' subjective judgements of trustworthiness as prescribed by the local 'traditions' of alienation and suspicion (Bevir, 2013; Ostrom, 1990). However, although Ostrom (2005) held that group deliberation fosters

cooperation through the building of trust, it appears that experimental intra-group negotiations built rather on distrust. Most crucially, given the overall level of cooperation during the experiment and the relatively high provisions for heritage, the community of Kastoria manifested lesser signs of distrust for heritage experts as compared to other agents, despite the fact that their relationships were far from ideal during the time of the study (see Chapter 6). This implies that when faced with social dilemmas, the majority of subjects chose to put their faith in the local heritage experts in order to maximize their communal benefits, instead of otherwise pursuing their own or collective ends.

9.4.4 When and why people refuse to cooperate

As in real life, a great deal of participants in the experiment had a past with each other and with government authorities, which formed a large part of their decision-making context (Dietz & Stern, 2008). The 'black box' of group discussions revealed the causes of conflictual decision-making as instigated by both citizens and government representatives. Apart from institutional distrust which was discussed earlier (see Section 9.4.3), some dominant causes of opposition that deserve our interest were strategic marginality of proposed policies, power clashes, and spatial rivalries.

More specifically, strategic marginality revealed subjects' failure to link heritage investments with personal or public benefit. On these occasions, subjects normally preferred to free-ride and pursue their own goals instead of contributing to the common-pool, either because they did not expect to derive utility from heritage or because they relied on others' provisions (Ostrom, 1990). For example, in the first round of the experiment a citizen opposed to cooperate on the premise that investment in the heritage fund would merely benefit the local hotel owners. This is illustrative of our earlier position that tourism impacts were not directly visible to community members that did not engage in tourism activity (see Section 9.3.2). Later in the session, the subject challenged the group by suggesting that if the project was truly important, it should be financed by the municipal or regional government (thus, free-riding was optimal). Similarly, in the second round, a city councillor, who had never visited the museum that was going to benefit from the proposed policy scenario, advanced the idea of 'using the money differently' as students engaged with the museum anyway (see Section

8.6.1). As analysed in Chapter 7, our empirical investigation of stated preferences and incentives to participate suggested that apart from some exceptions, heritage and tourism values had largely little influence on driving community involvement (contrary to community-based values). Combining this information with experimental evidence leads us to suggest that the link between heritage and communal gains, as well as, tourism and communal gains were rather weak at the time of the study.

As far as power clashes are concerned, these emerged between different state officials reinforcing our previous argument that 'government' is not a homogeneous entity. For instance, we witnessed that there were city council representatives who refused to cooperate because of their contempt for heritage experts or because they considered that the local Ephorate of Antiquities had exerted control over policy (i.e. proposed scenarios) that 'intruded' to their fields of influence. It needs to be highlighted that such power clashes which may communicate a prioritisation of own (political/power) stakes over communal interest can become particularly problematic in an already negative climate of distrust and citizens' general contempt towards state administration (see Section 6.5, Chapter 6). Thus, in order to effectively act as 'facilitators' of broader community involvement, it is pivotal for traditional power-holders to lessen their personal rivalries before embarking on participatory planning.

Similar to perceptions of strategic marginality, spatial rivalries exposed during decision-making were connected to utility and relevance considerations (i.e. why invest in something that would benefit a neighbouring area), as well as, to political 'traditions' and participants' experiences. For example, a subject made reference to 'previous injustices', implying a history of unequal development opportunities and public provisions within Kastoria region (Group T2G4). Thus, diametrically opposed to our previous discourses of place attachments as forces that strengthen altruistic feelings and social preferences (Section 9.3.3), we also witnessed their negative side expressed as place-based antagonism that inhibited cooperation by creating territorial conflicts and competition (Manzo & Perkins, 2006). As these rivalries are likely to emerge and influence planning outcomes, the way place attachments affect community behaviour needs to be considered during process design. Based on common-pool resources theory, the establishment of fair mechanisms for the allocation of resources is key for the success of community-based arrangements and for maintaining participants'

motivation to contribute to continued provisions (Ostrom, 1990). In this case, perceived unfairness had indeed a negative impact on community cooperation and thus, need to be reversed by participatory policy design.

9.5 Community participation as a process of policy and social transformation

Following a community-inclusive approach to heritage tourism planning is commonly accepted as a prerequisite to devising and maintaining commitment to sustainable development strategies (e.g. Araujo & Bramwell, 1999; Linett, 2010; Nelson & Schreiber, 2009; Okazaki, 2008; Sharpley, 2003). Based on communitarian ideology, participation in heritage tourism policy should be seen neither as consultation, where conventional 'power-holders' assemble community members to advise experts, nor as an autonomous counter-approach to state governance. Instead, participatory planning needs to be treated as a collaborative process whereby community and state can recognize their collective interests and guide development towards consensual sustainable directions. Nonetheless, participatory heritage tourism planning necessitates active citizenship and a mode of engagement in public matters with which communities are mostly unfamiliar (Bevir, 2013). For this reason, the thesis views participation as a gradual transformative process that concerns both policy and the broader societal context of destinations.

As demonstrated empirically, top-down value assessments of heritage may not sustain their relevance throughout local community whereas motivations for engaging with heritage tourism planning differ between experts and non-expert publics. Thus, to become truly inclusive and meaningful heritage tourism policy needs to embrace both the dominant and 'ordinary' cultural elements of the past so that it can make heritage action relevant to more stakeholders. This implies that heritage interpretations need to depart from 'object-centric' authorised discourses and become more 'people-oriented' by guarantying the heritage status to sites, places, and practices that are invested with communal meanings (Fouseki, 2010).

Parallel to this, the scope of heritage management needs to be broadened meaningfully in formal policy and practice in order to embrace and promote social interactions with monuments and uses that move beyond the 'study' and 'admiration' of pieces of high art and

architecture. In this way heritage, instead of serving as a mechanism of 'distinction' and conflict (Bourdieu, 1984), it will more convincingly promote communal ideals, which are found to be critical drivers of citizen engagement with public policy. As Watkins and Beaver (2008) suggest, heritage needs to be 'a living thing that evolves and adapts to changing situations and human needs or it will become nothing more than an empty shell' (p. 27). Further, Vincent (2004) stresses that transformation needs to first occur 'upwards' in order to convince those at the 'bottom' to shift their attitudes. A pluralist planning approach to heritage tourism does not mean to discredit state agents or diminish their expertise on heritage policy matters, but rather serve as an opportunity to renegotiate, redefine and strengthen their role in society. In this light, the democratization of governance for heritage policy also requires the democratization of heritage itself. A participatory dialogic process can become an instrument for this process if community and professionals answer collectively why they need their past and what for they need it (Lowenthal, 2015).

Given the long-standing 'traditions' of privileged expert control over the management of state heritage and their primary interest in official material remains (Fouseki, 2009; Hamilakis, 2007), emergent intangible heritage could provide more opportunities for exercising and gradually developing a new heritage tourism management practice. Thus, at initial level, participatory dialogue can focus on how intangible folk heritage can be managed collectively for tourism with the view to cultivate community-led planning as a process, provide communities with the time to build their skills and knowledge on policy, and prepare the ground for a more holistic co-management of local cultural heritage. A similar approach is also proposed by Ostrom (1990) whereby community cooperation moves from less to more complex institutional arrangements.

Still, a collaborative strategy needs to take into consideration the oxymoron of identity values attached to intangible heritage, i.e. the paradox where high appreciation for intangible heritage demotivates participation directly but promotes it indirectly by increasing community attachment and appreciation of communal values (see Section 9.3.3). In this light, if community heritage is to be employed by tourism, involved parties will need to negotiate the criteria and standards of development through public discussion and participatory

deliberation, in line with the principles of political communitarianism (Chhotray & Stoker, 2009).

In addition, positive correlations between place attachment, heritage values and communal ideals have important implications for policy. The spatial dimension of community interactions with heritage that was found to affect intentions for involvement along with sense of place can inform different levels of policy design, such as communication and recruitment strategies. For instance, participation can begin by building partnerships with formal or informal groups that already engage in some kind of collective action, such as cultural community-based associations, to utilise their organisation structures and networks and reach out to community segments that will be willing to contribute to participatory endeavours. Quite interestingly, it has been previously suggested that previous participation increases interpersonal trust as people involved in voluntary associations are more likely to trust others (Theiss-Morse & Hibbing, 2005). Given the magnitude of trust-distrust detected here, a potential positive correlation between previous participation and trust definitely deserves policy attention and further research.

Moreover, the common-pool resource character of heritage calls for institutional arrangements whereby communication and social interaction will evoke social rationality (Ostrom, 1990; Vatn, 2009a). Our empirical evidence from collaborative decision-making for resolving heritage-related social dilemmas demonstrated that participatory procedures can be as effective and cooperative as conventional policymaking, even in destinations with no previous community agency. Nevertheless, experimental deliberation showed that community negotiates with their present based on their personal and collective experiences from the past while employing their norms and 'traditions' to interpret and shape policy decisions (Bevir, 2013). This confirms that deliberation and reasoning are always situated within the specific social context of the destination and in webs of beliefs that are formulated by context-specific circumstances (Ron, 2016).

Overall, community behaviour revealed that at the time of the study citizenry psychology was marked by a general feeling of distrust and disappointment. This often found its expression as negativism towards local leadership, including appointed heritage officials and elected

politicians. Citizen alienation from heritage experts is particularly problematic, and an interplay of institutional/citizenry distrust as observed during the experiment can hinder future cooperation. Furthermore, people's contempt for the political status quo, which draws on long-standing political traditions seems to dominate collective consciousness (see Section 6.5). However interestingly, citizenry accounts did not blame exclusively the dysfunctionalities of the administrative system for their current hardships but were also coming to realise their own share of responsibility to current malaises. In their narratives, community members saw previous mentalities that permeated social life (e.g. depreciation of the past) to being gradually abandoned in response to a new reality (e.g. economic depression and impoverishment). These critical narratives illuminated a sense of community, as people placed themselves within a part of broader whole that shares common norms and values (Archer, 2007; Giddens, 1991). According to Giddens (1991), this reflective process can form the first step towards communal transformations whereas participation can accommodate a shared process of becoming (Ron, 2016), in order to enable consensual adjustments of policy and development to a new socio-economic reality (Chalari, 2012; Silbereisen et al., 2007).

Regarding traditions of mutual distrust, Dietz and Stern (2008) hold that both initial levels of trust and their dealing through the participatory process are crucial elements of the design process. Further, as Gaventa (2004) rightly points out, 'to rebuild relationships between citizens and their local governments means working both sides of the equation' (p. 27). Given the current lack of trust, state representatives and heritage experts need to increase their responsiveness and accountability to the public in order to nurture positive relationships that will in turn lessen the genuine uncertainty of complex policy decisions. It is perhaps reasonable to worry that in a similar manner that institutional mistrust shifted rather easily into citizenry mistrust, suspicion for those with political power can be transferred to the participatory governance arena to target citizens that take part in future heritage tourism planning. In such fragile environment, the limited knowledge of non-expert stakeholders on technical and policy matters calls for the establishment of appropriate communication channels through which state representatives will be able to demonstrate and strengthen their credibility. However, the fact that even in such climate of distrust, the majority of community members chose to trust heritage officers during the experiment is particularly

optimistic, showing that experts are not as depreciated as expected in people's collective consciousness.

Yet, participatory encounters and further dialogue between community members needs to focus on a gradual change of beliefs (Bevir, 2013). According to social interpretivist theory, dialogue allows those who participate to creatively build common understandings of the issues that a community faces while also shaping a shared conception of their community itself (*where are we/why are we here* in Figure 9.2). In this light, dialogue will not only push participants to reflect on their beliefs but will also act as a constructive exercise 'in which a community re-constitutes itself in a shared process of becoming' (Ron, 2016, p. 382). Therefore, participatory design needs to concentrate on the intersection of community aspirations and institutional approaches, where trust and interdependence between stakeholders can become endogenous to participation and build throughout the process (Anshell & Gash, 2008). State agencies can act as enablers and facilitators of the participation of citizens in the processes of heritage tourism planning and implementation (Bevir, 2013).

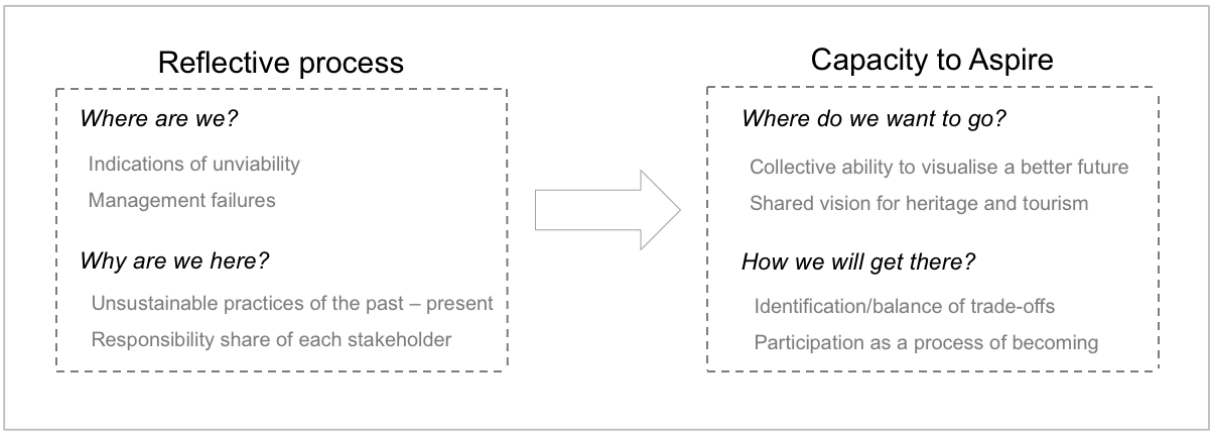

Figure 9.2 Moving from reflection to community's capacity to aspire.

Nevertheless, face-to-face discussions with citizens and experimental intra-community deliberation revealed a relatively low capacity to visualise alternative avenues that could serve communal needs more effectively than existing top-down arrangements (*where do we want to go/how we will get there* in Figure 9.2). For instance, community members participating in the experimental sessions were led to dead ends when attempted to define alternative policies that could generate public benefit. To a certain extent, this was natural

given the restrictions imposed by a one-off participatory exercise and we believe can be corrected if more participation opportunities arise in the future. As Fischer (2006) holds, participation needs to be instrumental by seeking to achieve the sustainable development of heritage tourism through specific policies, which cannot be pursued individually. However, it will be important prior or in parallel to participation to provide community members with opportunities to gradually increase their capacity to aspire (Appadurai, 2013).

Based on Appadurai (2013), a collective capacity to aspire can be instrumental in navigating community members outside the maze of present obstacles and commonly decide their vision and aspirations for their destinations' development. This will help stakeholders to develop a shared understanding of their problems, align their values, and decide how they can best achieve solutions collectively (Anshell & Gash, 2008; Heikkila & Gerlak 2005). Based on Bevir (2013), the relevant social actors will need to decide by themselves how best to resolve their policy issues. This suggests that, ideally, multi-stakeholder involvement will take place at several stages, including conceptualisation, planning, implementation, and evaluation. However, the level and degrees of participation will depend largely on the levels of trust, power sharing, resources and opportunities for building capacity (Kreps, 2011). Therefore, emphasis needs to be placed on the common aspirations and values that are prevalent in the community, so that participatory planning can build on people's organic solidarity. According to Durkheim (1893), organic societal solidarity creates cohesion amongst people with different values and interests, who nevertheless depend on each other to perform common tasks. The building upon these complementarities can take place progressively by bridging the expertise of heritage and tourism professionals with the knowledge and experience of government agents and with the aspirations of the citizenry.

CHAPTER 10

Towards a community-led approach: Conclusions, implications and further research

10.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis by providing an overview of its purpose and key findings in response to its research questions. Based on a compilation of study results, the following lines draw significant inferences and policy implications, which can critically inform the application of the participation ideal in the heritage tourism field. The central argument of the thesis is that emerging destinations that wish to employ their heritage to stimulate tourism growth should do so through community-led collaborative planning to achieve sustainability. This proposition is strongly supported by our empirical findings, which illustrate that even alienated and economically deprived communities with low active citizenship are highly driven to participate in policy in order to strengthen community attachment, improve public interaction with heritage and deliver communal gains.

More importantly, the thesis proves experimentally that their involvement in decision-making can be as effective as conventional top-down management in terms of direct outcomes and cooperation, coupled with the inherent benefits of pluralist community-based planning, such as democracy, equitability, legitimacy and commitment, as asserted by previous literature (see *inter alia* Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Chirikure et al., 2010; Getz, 1983; Hall, 1999; Jamal & McDonald, 2011; Murphy, 1985; Sofield, 2003; Nunkoo & Ramkinssoon, 2011; Smith, 2009). As a way forward, the new knowledge generated by this study regarding context-shaping, motivational and cooperative dynamics and forces, is built into a general framework that exhibits major elements to instigate community involvement for sustainable heritage tourism. Critical reflections on the study limitations and future avenues for research are also highlighted at the end of the chapter.

10.2 Towards community-led heritage tourism planning: Findings and implications

This section provides an overview of the responses to the research questions and hypotheses set at the beginning of the study. It also discusses key points raised from the primary data analysis and how these can inform the design of participatory approaches in destinations with no prior collaborative experiences or community involvement in policy-making. This analysis is critical for identifying how the thesis informs our current knowledge on the subject and for formulating a methodological framework to guide future *ex-ante* assessment of emerging heritage tourism destinations (see Section 10.3).

As discussed in Chapter 6, our fieldwork research began by exploring local heritage narratives and relationships between key local stakeholders in line with research question Q1 (see Table 10.1, page 257). Given the dynamic and multi-faceted nature of heritage (see Section 2.2, Chapter 2), a people-centred exploration of personal, collective, conscious and subconscious articulations of the past proved particularly valuable in understanding the context upon which participation can emerge. This exploration became possible through qualitative in-depth interviews and subsequent data analysis of key themes.

In line with previous heritage studies (e.g. Hall, 1997; Mydland & Grahn, 2012; Smith, 2009), we found that state/expert-driven definitions and valuations of heritage were particularly narrow to maintain their relevance across the local community. As discussed in Chapter 6 and later in Chapter 9, the ideological domination of 'Authorised Heritage Discourses' (Smith, 2009) had strictly dictated what deserved protection and by whom, assigning state experts with privileged access and authority over heritage management and appropriation. In turn, experts' anxiety for material conservation coupled with limited human and financial resources has led to their alienation from the community (e.g. in terms of public engagement and accountability) and the community's alienation from public heritage. In this light, it was argued that limited physical and mental access to expert-controlled heritage sites has instilled a culture of emotional and cognitive detachment into non-expert citizens.

In parallel to the dominant narratives, emergent community narratives suggested that heritage was not merely monumental, unique and tangible but also 'humble', ordinary and

immaterial, passing from generation to generation and enhancing communal cultural identity (e.g. vernacular architecture and local craftsmanship). However, emergent narratives were not incorporated in local state policy, their content was not officially acknowledged as 'heritage', their integrity was often contested and negotiated (see for instance, conflict in the demolition of the Ottoman barracks, which were saved by grassroots intervention in Section 6.3, Chapter 6), while their formulation and reproduction occurred mostly spontaneously by local non-expert actors. This led us to draw a distinction between 'official' and 'unofficial' heritage in line with Harrison (2011), suggesting that contrary to the official remains of the past, unofficial heritage was instrumental in promoting community attachment and belonging; an argument which was later reinforced by survey evidence (see Chapter 7).

Q1. What local narratives surround heritage and how are these shaped by stakeholders' interactions and practices?
• Official heritage narratives comply with Smith's (2006) Authorised Heritage Discourse. • Official heritage privileges state experts, who feel anxiety about material conservation. • The broader community is relatively detached from official heritage. • Official heritage often creates social frictions. • In parallel to official heritage, there is emerging 'unofficial' heritage (Harrison, 2011). • Unofficial heritage is accessible but follows subconscious processes. • The broader community engages with unofficial heritage actively. • Unofficial heritage promotes community attachment.

Table 10.1 Key study findings relating to research question Q1.

The fact that communities are not homogeneous entities was also confirmed by our case-study (Singh, 2014; Waterton & Smith, 2010), as there were community segments that claimed their share in acting for heritage (e.g. by curating museums and taking initiatives for heritage protection) parallel to citizens who retained an apathetic or even hostile attitude towards the preservation of an alienated anachronistic legacy. Thus, power, resource and knowledge imbalances played an important role in pre-defining the local participatory environment, influencing both the interests and behaviour of social actors with stakes in heritage tourism planning (Anshell & Gash, 2008). Identified conceptual and policy heritage

dichotomies along with disparity between state and community aspirations, which caused significant intra-community frictions at the time of the study, could severely undermine future participatory collaborations. The latter was confirmed on several occasions as, for instance, traditions of distrust framing the community context were indeed highly influential during experimental decision-making (see Chapter 8).

Therefore, community perceptions of heritage and local traditions of heritage interaction and management are highly relevant to the instigation of participation. Establishing policy changes in advance to cater for community needs and aspirations will be crucial for communicating and practically exhibiting signs of policy transformation. de Leon's (2015) report, devised for Europa Nostra after Kastoria's listing on the 'most endangered heritage sites of Europe' list underlines the problems of high bureaucracy and low financial incentives for heritage conservation. Rectifying these issues and facilitating heritage care will be necessary but not sufficient for sustainability. If long-term sustainability is to be pursued, the state and its local representatives will need to inspire and enable a changed and more affective attitude towards the 'official' past. For this to happen, heritage interpretations and 'traditions' of policy practice need to be more meaningfully inclusive to embrace emerging unofficial heritage, while negotiating with non-expert stakeholders the new terms of interaction with public monuments and sites. Participation can become the medium towards gradual socio-cultural transformation. It is thus vital to prioritise the democratisation of heritage narratives and management in the heritage tourism agenda and to make planning content and objectives relevant to a broader segment of the community.

Moving to the second research question (Q2), this revolved around people's motivations in being involved in a social exchange on participation in policymaking for tourism planning. Based on the literature, we formulated and empirically tested specific hypotheses regarding the potential drivers for participation by drawing on a pool of heritage, tourism and community incentives (see Table 10.2, page 260). This empirical testing was made feasible though a quantitative questionnaire survey and statistical data analysis that revealed important causal relationships of subjective expected utility. Revealed causalities demonstrated that an examination of incentives is critical for informing participatory design and engagement strategies (Ashley et al., 2015; Fan, 2013; Perkin, 2010).

More specifically, our survey analysis (see Chapter 7) evidenced that providing host communities merely with economic/tourism inducements is far from sufficient for encouraging their involvement in public policy. As it has been shown, economic-based stimuli are rather negligible in emerging destinations such as Kastoria, which prior to participation exhibited marginal tourism activity and largely 'unfelt' tourism impacts. In contrast, communal ideals and attachment to place were found to play a prominent role in people's intentions to engage with heritage tourism planning. A strand of previous tourism work proposed that communal non-economic improvements, such as community attachment, enhance support for tourism development significantly (Chen & Chen, 2010; Choi & Murray, 2010; Sirikaya et al., 2002). Our study extends this interesting line of research by evidencing that communal-based enhancements (e.g. strengthening social ties, achieving commonly beneficial policy) are key factors in improving support for participatory policy. These findings are also in line with communitarian political thought, which holds that participation emerges socially, through individuals' membership to community (Kymlicka, 1990; Chhotray & Stoker, 2009).

Interestingly, heritage values were found to strengthen this sense of community. However, as explained in Chapter 9, this strengthening occurred indirectly through spatial proximity to heritage places and active involvement in heritage activities which promoted community attachment (see also Section 7.7, Chapter 7). Quite paradoxically, identity values invested in 'unofficial' heritage appeared to demotivate participation directly, possibly due to community concerns about the misappropriation of heritage, which is currently 'owned' and celebrated locally, by tourists and outsiders. A directly positive relationship between heritage values and intentions to participate was confirmed only for the most emblematic 'official' heritage sites of the region (e.g. key sites within historic neighbourhoods) as a means to assert public access and community engagement with them. At the same time, values attached to official heritage by Authorised Heritage Discourses (AHD), such as uniqueness, universality, scientific and educational traits, proved to be 'an empty shell' for the community majority (Watkins & Beaver, 2008), exerting no significant influences on their attitude towards participation.

These findings have important implications for policy advocating for the design of participation strategies that build on community's sense of place and belonging. The thesis

holds that along with the socially sustainable goal of achieving an equitable share of material resources, community-led planning should also promote social development and community connections through heritage, which rewards participants with intangible benefits such as community cohesion, social and civic capital (Jamal & McDonald, 2011). Apart from its instrumental effects (i.e. success in achieving specific sustainable tourism outcomes), participatory endeavours need to be connected with developmental and intrinsic effects to promote broad support for collaboration. Developmental effects describe participants' gains in terms of knowledge, political skills and social action while intrinsic benefits of participation can be understood as less tangible internal impacts, such as a stronger sense of identity with one's community (Fischer, 2006).

Q2. What factors, related to the economic, social and heritage benefits and costs of tourism, can drive community intentions to participate in SHT planning?
H1. Heritage values drive willingness to participate in heritage tourism planning. • Partly accepted. • Heritage values, especially those complying with Authorised Heritage Discourses (e.g. universal, bequest, scientific) are insignificant for the broader community. • Interacting and gaining access to emblematic official heritage motivates a community to participate, especially those residing nearby. • Communal identity values attached to unofficial heritage discourage involvement.
H2. Expectations of positive tourism impacts exert a positive influence on willingness to participate in heritage tourism planning. • Rejected. • Expected impacts of tourism do not affect willingness to participate significantly.
H3. Community ideals affect willingness to participate in heritage tourism planning positively. • Accepted. • Community ideals (e.g. communal benefits, place attachment, collective power) exert a significantly positive influence on intentions to participate.

Table 10.2 Key study findings relating to research question Q2.

Finally, the thesis comparatively explored collaborative decision-making across top-down and citizen-inclusive planning for heritage tourism (Q3). This is the first time that a direct comparison between different governance arrangements was carried out to explore behaviour, policy choices and important dynamics of cooperation, such as negotiation, deliberation and conflict, thus offering new insights into establishing effective participatory arrangements (Anshell & Gash, 2008; Ostrom, 1990). As with Q2, specific hypotheses were formulated reflecting common participation narratives, of which the validity was tested through an extremely novel experimental design inspired by behavioural economics (see Table 10.3, page 262).

Obviously, the 'elephant in the room' of empowered participatory policymaking, where non-state/non-expert community stakeholders will increase their capacity to directly influence decisions on capital investments and limited resources management (Jordan et al., 2013; Pacifico & Vogel, 2012), is whether its outcomes will truly serve communal goals or will repeat a 'tragedy of the commons' (Hardin, 1968; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; see also Section 3.3.2, Chapter 3). Our experimental work advances this issue by directly challenging it, providing evidence that even in communities that are economically depressed and alienated from public heritage, social rationality and pro-heritage behaviour eventually prevail (see Chapter 8). By drawing on data generated by human subject groups that reflected top-down management (i.e. government and experts) and groups that simulated pluralist management structures (i.e. government, experts along with citizens and community associations), we have demonstrated that participatory and conventional planning for heritage tourism can lead to equally high public heritage investments.

Thesis results regarding deliberation and conflict are also extremely significant, owing to the fact that the inherently higher representation of interests in participatory planning can decelerate consensus-building (Izdiak et al., 2015; Lo et al., 2013; Marzuki et al., 2012). As analysed in Chapters 8 and 9, our experimental evidence confirms that participation increases conflict, nevertheless, contrary to previous assertions (e.g. Byrd et al., 2009; Davis et al., 2010; Marzuki et al., 2012) this acts constructively rather than destructively, by increasing cooperation in the provisions for heritage. Extended deliberation is also found to 'pay-off' in terms of final policy choices. Overall, feelings of trust and perceptions of stakeholders'

credibility were identified as a persistent driver of individual and collective policy choices. Furthermore, based on empirical results, heterogeneity of trust within participants may affect behaviour both positively and negatively, depending on institutional arrangements (e.g. the administrative apparatus that will supervise the application of new policies; Ostrom, 1990). However interestingly, our findings showed that participatory decision-making is not 'inherently' more heterogeneous than the supposedly more homogeneous top-down governance, given that divergence of opinions was occasionally higher in the latter.

Q3. Directly compared to conventional governance, how participatory groups perform when assigned with real power to influence decisions?

H4. Participatory decision-making leads to lower pro-heritage investments compared to non-participatory investment choices.

- Rejected.
- Participatory decision-making leads to equally pro-heritage investment decisions as non-participatory collective policy.

H5. Participatory governance structures are less effective that non-participatory ones, in terms of being more prone to time-consuming and conflict-raising decision-making.

- Partly accepted.
- We do not observe any statistically significant differences in deliberation times between participatory and non-participatory decision-making.
- We observe that participatory decision-making was significantly more conflict-raising.
- Yet, conflict and co-operation were positively correlated implying that disagreement was constructive in terms of increasing contributions to heritage.

H6. Group heterogeneity exerts significant negative influences on heritage tourism investment decisions.

- Partly accepted.
- Heterogeneity of respondents' perceptions on the credibility of stakeholders directly involved in policy application affects investment decisions negatively.
- Heterogeneity of respondents' perceptions on the credibility of stakeholders that antagonise those directly involved in policy application affects investment decisions positively.

Table 10.3 Key study findings relating to research question Q3.

These findings have important implications for the instigation of participatory heritage tourism. They prove empirically that even in destinations with no participatory traditions or analogous political culture, collaborations with non-expert communities can work and policies can be devised that would seek to deliver communal benefits through heritage. They also highlight that policy preferences are simultaneously institutionally situated (Ostrom, 1990) and socially-informed, based on past experiences (Bevir, 2013), for example, through subjective judgements of trustworthiness. By witnessing an interplay between institutional and socially-formulated preferences, the thesis stresses the need for initiating transformations from top to bottom, firstly by increasing state/expert responsiveness and secondly by increasing accountability to the public to nurture trust (see also Chapter 9). Moreover, it is held that conflict and extended deliberation should not be treated as the negative consequences of pluralist planning, given that they can both lead to mutually beneficial compromises. After all, the very essence of more democratic planning is social deliberation, collective reflection and fertile debate. Nevertheless, as continuous conflict could indeed have detrimental effects in a long-term policy and governance horizon, participatory communication and arrangements need to remedy low levels of perceived credibility and build on interdependencies to minimize antagonism between competing parties.

10.3 Making communities partners to planning: An empirically-informed framework

Admittedly, applying the concept of community-led planning for sustainable heritage tourism to the real-world can be particularly complex and challenging, given the presence and interactions among diverse community groups, their conflicting interests and crystallised power relations that draw from a long-standing tradition of top-down management. To address some important gaps between theory and practice, the thesis approached the subject through an *ex-ante* assessment of participatory potential in an emerging destination where participatory heritage tourism could become the solution to the lack of economic, social and heritage viability. A framework for *ex-ante* evaluations is essential for informing research and policy, given that the instigation of participation can prove a disheartening task in an emerging destination where prior governance arrangements had paid lip service to active citizenship. As there is still little knowledge to hand on the process and ramifications of such

a transition from closed state/expert-controlled policymaking to a more open, pluralist and democratic approach, it is important to input our empirical findings into a framework that highlights the most critical issues. This framework consists of three main components, coined as 'context', 'motivation' and 'cooperation' (Figure 10.1).

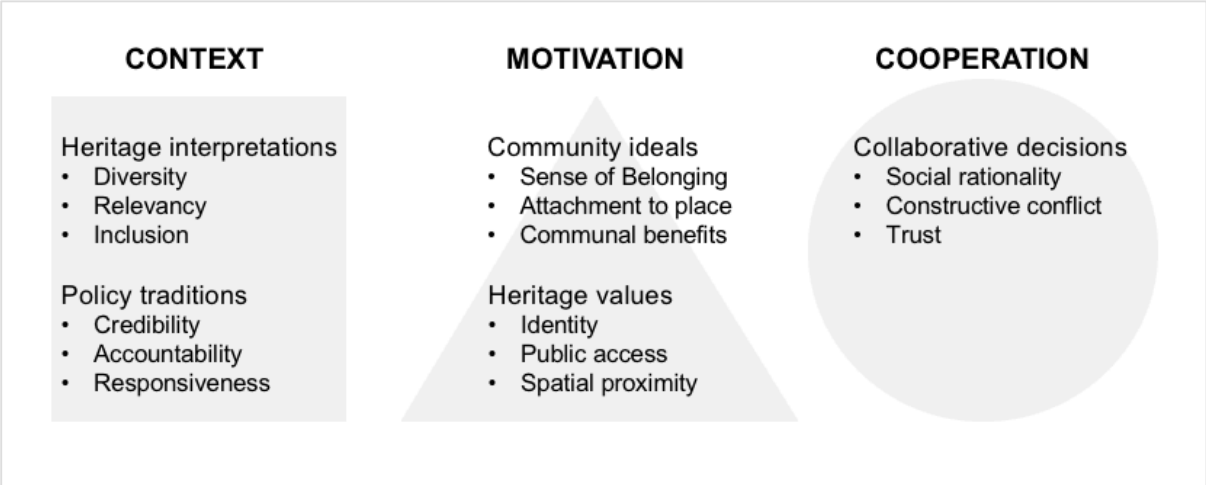

Figure 10.1 Critical points for instigating participation based on case-study evidence.

Firstly, community members, either experts or non-experts, state officials or citizens, exist against a specific social background that shapes their ideas, reasoning and interrelationships. Based on governance theory, participation is influenced by context-specific characteristics whereas the community environment shapes both stakeholders' drivers and actions (Bevir, 2004; Ebdon, 2000). This implies that the design of invited spaces for participation needs to depart from and systematically return to the broader conditions that frame a destination's context. Community-based research can shed light on the social construction processes of heritage and policy by drawing on heritage interpretations and traditions that shape local practices at both top and bottom levels (Bevir, 2013). As clearly shown by this study, the gathering of heritage discourses is crucial for assessing and enhancing relevance and assuring inclusion of participants' narratives to communicate policy formulation convincingly as a collective process that pertains to the community as a whole. Parallel to this, an assessment of previous heritage tourism policy, and particularly its perceived credibility, accountability and responsiveness to community needs can help to identify problematic areas from early on and work on rectifying them so that a solid basis for collaboration can be built.

Secondly, participation is a voluntary process and represents a social exchange among people with their own and collective interests (Emerson, 1976; 1987). The existence of effective motivation to engage in policy is a principal instigator of community inclusion and its later success. Based on our empirical results, we maintain that participatory research needs to explore the intangible merits of collaborating and to refine motivations based on context-specific subjective valuations of expected utility. An important implication for policy in emerging destinations with marginal tourism activity is that participatory design should place its emphasis on accommodating developmental and intrinsic elements in terms of promoting social action, increasing social capital and providing participants with a stronger sense of community. Furthermore, identity values invested in emergent heritage deserve attention due to their capacity to increase community attachment. As proposed in Chapter 9, small-scale collaborative initiatives that focus on ordinary/emergent heritage and emphasise community ideals can be used as pilot projects for instigating participation, building participants' capacity and informing the gradual process of policy transformation.

Thirdly, proper institutional and social arrangements for promoting cooperation need to be tested in the field. The thesis proposed that economic theory on social dilemmas is highly relevant for framing community behaviour in terms of collective choices and budgetary allocation preferences (Ostrom, 1990; see also Section 3.3.2, Chapter 3). It is argued that at higher levels of citizen power, cooperation for heritage provision is central to decision-making for tourism and extremely relevant in today's fiscal stress. Given that the conservation of the past is often seen as antagonistic to contemporary community needs (Landorf, 2009; Lowenthal, 2015; Pacifico & Vogel, 2012) and that sustainable tourism solutions may sacrifice short-term economic gains for benefits that are not directly apparent or felt (Reid et al., 2004; Redclift, 2005), forces of social rationality need to be established and enhanced. The study showed experimentally that democratic deliberation encourages constructive conflict arising from disagreement in policy preferences, which ultimately mobilises greater cooperation. This paints a different picture of collaborative encounters where power is equally distributed (see also Section 9.4.2, Chapter 9). Yet, traditions of distrust, originating in our first framework block (*context*) pose barriers to cooperation and can erode the effectiveness of citizen involvement. This implies that participation needs to be viewed as a transformative process, whereby decisions are built on past experiences and practices (Bevir, 2013). On this account,

it is necessary to return to the background/broader context that frames a collaborative process to re-assess collective decision-making and community incentives to participate.

As participation in heritage tourism planning would be hard to follow a broadly applicable procedure, this structured approach derived from case-study evidence might need to be tailored to suit the particular circumstances being considered. Nonetheless, this framework provides a helpful synopsis of the key elements that need to be considered in moving towards a community-led approach to sustainable heritage tourism. The involvement of destination hosts is acknowledged as a fundamental principle of sustainable heritage tourism and the only way to devise policies that safeguard equitability and balanced development (Ap, 1992; Chirikure et al., 2010; Landorf, 2009; Pacifico & Vogel, 2012; Reid, 2003). In spite of the wide consensus in the literature, the issue of participation has become unpleasant for policymaking and heritage tourism management due to its procedural complexity and the limited practical knowledge of how top-management can work with communities effectively (Ashley et al., 2015; Izdiak et al., 2015). However, it is time to move forward. Along with the previous theoretical discourses for community participation in the heritage tourism field, this study offers empirical evidence for embarking on community-based planning.

10.4 Limitations and future research avenues

The thesis demonstrates that research into the instigation of participatory planning in emerging destinations in transition is highly important for the field of sustainable heritage tourism due to the existing gap in the relevant literature and scarce naturally-occurring data of community involvement in decision-making. The inferences drawn from the Kastoria case-study confirmed and further revealed the traits of a complex social world, denoting the gradual transformation that needs to occur so that participatory governance for tourism can become effective and act as a 'shared process of becoming' (Ron, 2016). However, as with any case-study approach to research, there are certain limitations which need to be taken into account before findings can be externalised. Highlighting these limitations is important for setting future research avenues and areas of study.

Firstly, it is important to bear in mind that each destination has its own social, cultural, institutional and civic specificities that can define its initial circumstances and upon which participation can take place. As explained in Chapter 4, for the purpose of this thesis the selection of a single case-study and the in-depth assessment of its conditions and dynamics for responding our research questions was deemed important. Nevertheless, exploring and comparing our findings with other case-studies that present similar characteristics (e.g. similar indications of unsustainability as identified in Chapter 5) or with case-studies that deviate from these would be valuable for enriching and extending this important line of research into setting up participation from scratch.

Secondly, owing to the fact that the identification of the driving forces and motivations for involvement is crucial for informing participatory design, future studies need to explore the issue further. Due to our focus on heritage tourism in particular, we anchored our empirical investigation in heritage, tourism and social value domains. However, additional enquiry into psychological and political factors can be valuable. At the same time, our attitudinal survey instrument was by design subject to hypothetical valuations (for instance, intentions to participate may not necessarily translate into real commitments in the future). A comparison of incentives at different phases of participation would shed additional light on how stakeholder intentions evolve over time.

Thirdly, a limitation and simultaneously an interesting area for further research is the direct comparison of different dimensions of participatory governance. The thesis introduced an experimental methodological design for eliciting subjects' behaviour and comparing various aspects of decision-making across different governance structures. In particular, we explored cooperation through investment choices for the provision of public heritage goods, efficiency through deliberation times and conflict between individual preferences and collective choices, by employing a one-off monetary endowment allocation task. Thus, this study opens up a new exciting research avenue for the systematic study of participation dynamics and social actors' behaviour that can significantly extend our knowledge. Further studies could employ similar designs to elicit behaviour at different stages of participatory planning, such as goal setting, implementation or monitoring. Moreover, economic experiments can be employed to explore specific aspects of behaviour, such as deliberation imbalances within

group members and its effectiveness to alter preferences, power inequalities and social pressures. We specifically propose the application of treatments based on demographic characteristics, education background and community attachment, as these were found to affect perceptions of heritage and participation.

10.5 Final conclusion

Overall, this study makes a significant contribution to the literature. It brings together a cross-disciplinary collection of major theoretical concepts from heritage studies, tourism, sustainable development, political sociology, economic theory and governance to frame a novel multi-dimensional enquiry into the subject of community involvement. It applies an innovative methodological framework that introduces new approaches to research on the subject, such as *ex-ante* assessments of destinations, while applying sophisticated methodological tools to the field, such as economic experiments. By doing so it provides, for the first time, empirical evidence to support the hitherto theoretical concept of community participation with citizen power in the planning of heritage tourism. These findings are particularly useful for informing future participation processes that can pave the way for sustainable and vibrant heritage tourism destinations. Thus, it is evident that this particular line of enquiry deserves further attention.

APPENDIX A

Interview questionnaire sample

Our interviews with the local community followed a semi-structured format, using several pre-set questions to guide discussions. Table A provides a sample of the structure and questions used for interviewing local citizens. Although there were some standard questions across all stakeholder groups, it needs to be noted that slightly varied versions were employed for local government agents, heritage tourism professionals and academic researchers, in order for issues discussed to be relevant and appropriate for each representative. For instance, heritage tourism professionals were requested to provide details of their clientele in order to identify Kastoria's tourism market, whereas government representatives were asked about their strategic priorities and plans for future development.

Questionnaire: Citizens/residents
PART A – Warm up questions to profile interviewees
A1. *Have you or your parents born in Kastoria?*
A2. *How old are you?*
A3. *How long have you been living here?*
A4. *What is your occupation?*
A5. *Where about in Kastoria you live or work?*
A6. *Do you live in a historic/traditional house?* Prompt: *Is it listed?*
PART B – Questions about local heritage
B1. *What do you like most in Kastoria?*
B2. *Which do you think are the most important heritage sites and elements of Kastoria?* Prompts: *Why?* *How would you feel if it was demolished or changed?*
B3. *How would you describe Kastoria to someone who has never visited it?*
B4. *Which locations/sites would you recommend them to visit?* Prompt: *When was the last time you visited it?*

A set of photographs depicting key local heritage sites, places and elements was shown to respondents. For each photograph the following questions were posed:
B5. *Do you recognize the site/mansion/place/custom depicted here?*
B6. *Do you know where it is located/takes place?* Prompt: *Have you ever been to/took part in?*
PART C – Questions about local tourism
C1. *Would you like more or less tourists in Kastoria?*
C2. *In what ways has tourism helped/could help the area, in your opinion?* Prompt: *Do you think that it could form a solution to the crisis?*
C3. *What do you think are the current and/or potential negative impacts of tourism?*
C4. *How could Kastoria attract more tourists?*
C5. *Are you in favour of the idea to develop heritage tourism further in the area?*
C6. *Do you think that local community participation in heritage tourism development would be important?* Prompts: *Why?* *Would you be interested to participate?* *What problems/issues would you raise?*

Table A Questionnaire sample employed in interviewees with local residents.

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire survey design

The questionnaire comprises two main parts. The first part seeks to disentangle what factors (de)motivate participation to heritage tourism planning. This part consists of attitude statements followed by a seven-point Likert answer format, where respondents were asked to state their level of agreement (strongly disagree to strongly agree coded as 1 to 7, respectively). A seven-point Likert scale was chosen on the premise that it could capture the intensity of community attitudes with greater precision as compared to five response categories. As Schuman and Presser (1996) suggest, apart from dichotomising attitudes between positive or negative, it is also valuable to identify the strength of respondents' views. The questionnaire presented the respondents with a series of fifty-one statements and asked them to rate their agreement with each one of them. The order of questions followed the funnel approach, starting with more broad statements about heritage values and its potential for tourism growth and gradually moving to the more specific ones. Funnelling questions is generally considered appropriate as it places enquiry – in our case, participation, in a context of multiple factors (Oppenheim, 2001).

The second part of the questionnaire was designed to elicit information about the profile of respondents with emphasis on the factors that can impact their willingness to participate according to the literature. Thus, a series of categorical scale and factual questions were added to collect demographic data on respondents regarding (i) their practical resources; namely, gender, age, marital status, occupation status and personal income, (ii) their learnt resources; i.e. education level, occupation type, length of residence, (iii) their stakes in heritage tourism development; i.e. dependency on tourism and/or heritage (based on occupation), place attachment (birthplace, length of residence), residence location, and residence type (listed building), (iv) their prior experience with participation, such as association membership. Finally, the questionnaire closed with a question that asked respondents to directly state whether they wanted or not to participate in heritage tourism planning. A copy of the questionnaire form can be found on the next pages.

Part A – The cultural heritage of Kastoria

Please circle the number below that indicates how *much you agree* or *disagree* with each statement.

		Totally disagree			Neither agree nor disagree			Totally agree
A1	Kastoria is rich in archaeological remains that are subject to scientific research.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A2	It is beneficial when archaeological excavations are conducted in the area as they reveal local history.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A3	It is not important to have educational activities that relate to archaeological and heritage work at Kastoria.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A4	The Byzantine monuments of Kastoria have international cultural significance and we must protect them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A5	The Byzantine and post-Byzantine artwork of Kastoria is of unique artistic value.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A6	If access to the Byzantine churches is improved, more tourists will be attracted to the area.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A7	We need to protect the Ottoman monuments of Kastoria as they form part of the history of the place.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A8	The traditional architecture of Kastoria documents local creativity and culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A9	In their majority, traditional or neoclassical houses are more beautiful than contemporary ones.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A10	The most beautiful parts of the city are its old traditional neighbourhoods of Dolcho and Apozari.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A11	Local fur craftsmanship is part of the common cultural identity of Kastorians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A12	It is important to establish a local museum that will narrate the history and evolution of fur manufacturing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A13	The mud-brick houses of Koresteia villages (e.g. Gavros, Kranionas, Mavrokampos) are monuments that witness place history and civil war memory.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A14	Traditional customs provide opportunities for community gatherings and collective recreation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A15	Traditional customs, such as the local carnival, can act as an attraction pole for tourists.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A16	An increase of tourists will be detrimental to the authenticity of the local carnival and other traditional customs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A17	It is important to protect cultural heritage so that we can bequest it to future generations.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A18	The conservation of listed buildings provides benefits to local community as a whole.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A19	The protection of heritage monuments is the exclusive responsibility of state agents (e.g. Ephorate of Antiquities).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A20	Tourism development should be a priority in the local government agenda.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A21	The image of Kastoria would have been better, if it had less listed/preserved buildings.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A22	The re-use of listed buildings as hotels and restaurants made Kastoria more attractive to visitors.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A23	Car parking should be prohibited around Koumbelidiki church to deter damages to the monument.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Please continue to next page

Please circle the number below that indicates how *much you agree* or *disagree* with each statement.

		Totally disagree			Neither agree nor disagree			Totally agree
A24	Demolishing the old high school building, next to Koumbelidiki church, was a huge mistake due to its historic value.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A25	It is important to open the Tsiatsiapa Mansion to the local community once its conservation works are complete.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A26	It is better to demolish the Ottoman barracks (Mathioudakis building) and erect a contemporary police station in their place.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A27	It is not appropriate to spend public money on cultural heritage since Kastoria faces more important issues.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A28	It is important that citizens participate in the protection and promotion of cultural heritage.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Part B – Tourism and local community

Please circle the number below that indicates how *much you agree* or *disagree* with each statement.

		Totally disagree			Neither agree nor disagree			Totally agree
B1	Kastoria has high potential for tourism development because it is rich in monuments and heritage resources.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B2	Tourism development at Kastoria should be directly linked to its cultural heritage.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B3	Heritage tourism is not the best solution for Kastoria as there are already other popular heritage tourism destinations in Greece (e.g. Delphi, Ancient Olympia).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B4	Kastoria has limited potential for tourism development because it is not a seaside destination.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B5	The linking of tourism with heritage will create incentives for the protection and promotion of the latter.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B6	The development of heritage tourism will contribute to the development of the local economy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B7	Tourism development will contribute to unemployment reduction.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B8	The development of heritage tourism will incentivize the local community to learn more about their heritage.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B9	Tourism provides economic benefits only to those who engage with it directly (e.g. hoteliers, restaurant owners).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B10	Tourism development in Kastoria will lead to the degradation of its urban environment.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B11	Tourism development will lead to infrastructure and services development for the local community.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B12	The increase of tourism in Kastoria will not lead to the degradation of the natural environment.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B13	The design of heritage tourism in Kastoria should be done in collaboration with all interested stakeholders.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B14	I believe that collective local interests are more important than individual interests.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Please continue to next page

Please circle the number below that indicates how *much you agree* or *disagree* with each statement.

		Totally disagree			Neither agree nor disagree			Totally agree
B15	I feel that Kastorians are closely tied to each other.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B16	I personally feel deeply connected to Kastoria.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B17	I would like to help Kastoria and contribute to its development.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Please circle the number below that indicates how *much you agree* or *disagree* with each statement.

		Totally disagree			Neither agree nor disagree			Totally agree
Citizen participation in heritage tourism planning…								
B18	... would reinforce social ties among the local community.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B19	… would help participants to gain skills and experience.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B20	... would contribute to experts' work in heritage and tourism matters.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B21	… would lead to conflict without fertile results.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B22	... would safeguard that decisions made are commonly beneficial.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B23	… would have little impact due to the political status quo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Part C – About you

C1	What is your gender?	Male	☐	Female	☐
C2	What is your age?	18-24	☐	55-64	☐
		25-34	☐	65-74	☐
		35-44	☐	>75	☐
		45-54	☐		
C3	Do you have underage children in your custody?	Yes	☐	No	☐
C4	What is your education?				
	Junior high- school graduate		☐		
	High-school graduate		☐		
	University graduate		☐		
	University post-graduate (Master or PhD)		☐		
	Other (please specify)	_____			

Please continue to next page

C5	Were your studies related to culture/heritage disciplines?	Yes	☐	No	☐
C6	What is your employment status;				
	Unemployed		☐		
	Student		☐		
	In full-time employment		☐		
	In part-time employment		☐		
	Housewife/househusband		☐		
	Retired		☐		
	Other (please specify)	_____			
C7	Do you have a cultural heritage-relevant occupation?	Yes	☐	No	☐
C8	Do you have a tourism-relevant occupation?	Yes	☐	No	☐
C9	What is your annual household income?				
	< €5.000		☐		
	€5.000 - €10.000		☐		
	€10.001 - €20.000		☐		
	€20.001 - €30.000		☐		
	> €30.000		☐		
C10	Is Kastoria your place of origin?	Yes	☐	No	☐
C11	Is Kastoria your permanent place of residence?	Yes	☐	No	☐
C12	Where about in Kastoria do you live/work?	_____			
C13	How long have you been living/staying at Kastoria?	_____			
C14	Do you live in a traditional or listed building?	Yes	☐	No	☐
C15	Are you member to any local cultural association?	Yes	☐	No	☐
C16	Are you involved in activities that promote local culture?	Yes	☐	No	☐
C17	Do you participate in local commons in some other way? *(if Yes, please describe in what ways)*				
C18	Would you like to participate actively in heritage tourism planning for Kastoria?	Yes	☐	No	☐

IF NO, please go to question C24.

IF YES, in which of the following(s) would you like to participate: *(Fill in only if you answered YES in question C18)*					
C19	Decision-making for the directions of tourism development in the area.	Yes	☐	No	☐
C20	Heritage management and heritage promotion activities.	Yes	☐	No	☐
C21	Implementation of the local heritage tourism plan.	Yes	☐	No	☐
C22	Monitoring the application of the local heritage tourism plan.	Yes	☐	No	☐
C23	*Other (please describe)*				

IF NO, what are the reasons you don't wish to participate: *(Fill in only if you answered NO to question C18)*					
C24	I don't have the time.	Yes	☐	No	☐
C25	I am not sure how I could contribute.	Yes	☐	No	☐
C26	I feel I don't have the necessary knowledge-skills.	Yes	☐	No	☐
C27	I feel it wouldn't have a meaningful impact on policy.	Yes	☐	No	☐
C28	*Other reasons (please describe)*				

Thank you very much for your time!

Please return the questionnaire to the researcher.

APPENDIX C

Principal component analysis: Extracted factors

The following table exhibits the factor variables and their including attitude statements, as these were extracted through our exploratory principal components analysis (see Chapters 4 and 7).

Factor name	***Description***	**Attitude statements included (code number)**
		Heritage values
HER1: Inherent values	*Statements that refer predominantly to the 'self-evident' qualities of official heritage, as explained by Smith (2006) & Harrison (2011).*	• Kastoria is rich in archaeological remains that are subject to scientific research (A1). • It is beneficial when archaeological excavations are conducted in the area as they reveal local history (A2). • The Byzantine monuments of Kastoria have international cultural significance and we must protect them (A4). • The Byzantine and post-Byzantine artwork of Kastoria is of unique artistic value (A5). • The traditional architecture of Kastoria documents local creativity and culture (A8). • It is important to protect cultural heritage so that we can bequest it to future generations (A17). • The conservation of listed buildings provides benefits to local community as a whole (A18). • Kastoria has high potential for tourism development because it is rich in monuments and heritage resources (B1). • If access to the Byzantine churches is improved, more tourists will be attracted to the area (A6).
HER2: Collective identity & Memory	*Statements that mostly express social associations with local heritage.*	• Local fur craftsmanship is part of the common cultural identity of Kastorians (A11). • It is important to establish a local museum that will narrate the history and evolution of fur manufacturing (A12). • The mud-brick houses of Koresteia villages are monuments that witness place history and civil war memory (A13). • Traditional customs provide opportunities for community gatherings and collective recreation (A14). • Traditional customs, such as the local carnival, can act as an attraction pole for tourists (A15).
HER3: Emblematic & Accessible	*Statements that relate to key monuments within Kastoria's historic core and their accessibility.*	• The most beautiful parts of the city are its old traditional neighbourhoods of Dolcho and Apozari (A10). • Car parking should be prohibited around Koumbelidiki church to deter damages to the monument (A23). • Demolishing the old high school building, next to Koumbelidiki church, was a huge mistake due to its historic value (A24). • It is important to open the Tsiatsiapa Mansion to the local community once its conservation works are complete (A25).
HER4: Resistance to change	*Statements that value heritage conservation and its prioritisation over modernisation.*	• We need to protect the Ottoman monuments of Kastoria as they form part of the history of the place (A7). • In their majority, traditional or neoclassical houses are more beautiful than contemporary ones (A9). • The image of Kastoria would have been better, if it had less listed/preserved buildings (A21)*. • It is better to demolish the Ottoman barracks and erect a contemporary police station in their place (A26)*.

HER5: Educational & Use values	*Statements that discuss instrumental uses of heritage.*	• It is not important to have educational activities that relate to archaeological and heritage work at Kastoria (A3)*. • The re-use of listed buildings as hotels and restaurants made Kastoria more attractive to visitors (A22).
		Perceptions of tourism
TOUR1: High positive effects	*Statements that express a general positive attitude towards the development of heritage tourism in the area.*	• Tourism development should be a priority in the local government agenda (A20). • Tourism development should be directly linked to cultural heritage (B2). • The linking of tourism with heritage will create incentives for the protection and promotion of the latter (B5). • The development of heritage tourism will contribute to the development of the local economy (B6). • The development of heritage tourism will incentivize the local community to learn more about their heritage (B8). • Tourism development will lead to infrastructure and services development for the local community (B11).
TOUR2: Low negative effects	*Statements reflecting a low appreciation of potential tourism costs*	• An increase of tourists will be detrimental to the authenticity of the local carnival and other traditional customs (A16)*. • Tourism development in Kastoria will lead to the degradation of its urban environment (B10)*. • The increase of tourism in Kastoria will not lead to the degradation of the natural environment (B12)*.
TOUR3: Scope for development	*Statements that assess the capacity of Kastoria to develop into a thriving destination.*	• Kastoria has limited potential for tourism development because it is not a seaside destination (B4)*. • Heritage tourism is not the best solution for Kastoria as there are already other popular heritage tourism destinations in Greece (e.g. Delphi, Ancient Olympia) to compete with (B3)*. • Tourism development will contribute to unemployment reduction (B7). • Tourism provides economic benefits only to those who engage with it directly (e.g. hoteliers, restaurant owners) (B9)*.
		Community ideals
COM1: Participation values	*Statements that assign value to community participation and its potential benefits.*	• It is important that citizens participate in the protection and promotion of cultural heritage (A28). • The design of heritage tourism in Kastoria should be done in collaboration with all interested stakeholders (B13). • Citizen participation in heritage tourism planning would reinforce social ties among the local community (B18). • Citizen participation in heritage tourism planning would help participants to gain skills and experience (B19). • Citizen participation in heritage tourism planning would contribute to experts' work in heritage and tourism matters (B20). • Citizen participation in heritage tourism would safeguard that decisions made are commonly beneficial (B22).
COM2: Altruism & attachment	*Statements reflecting social and heritage preferences.*	• It is not appropriate to spend public money on cultural heritage since Kastoria faces more important issues (A27)*. • I believe that collective local interests are more important than individual interests (B14). • I personally feel deeply connected to Kastoria (B16). • I would like to help Kastoria and contribute to its development (B17).
COM3: Collective power	*Statements considering participation impacts.*	• Citizen participation in heritage tourism planning would lead to conflict without fertile results (B21)*. • Citizen participation in heritage tourism planning would have little impact due to the political status quo (B23).
COM4: Citizenry role & cohesion	*Statements on heritage custody & solidarity across citizens.*	• The protection of heritage monuments is the exclusive responsibility of state agents (e.g. Ephorate of Antiquities) (A19)*. • I feel that Kastorians are closely tied to each other (B15).

Notes:

** Scores were reversed (e.g. 1 values were turned into 7) and results reported in the analysis express positive to heritage/tourism/participation attitudes.*

Table C. Factor components reflecting attitudes towards heritage, tourism and community.

APPENDIX D

Questionnaire sample used during the experiment

In this appendix, we present a sample of the questionnaire that was distributed to all experimental subjects at the beginning of each session (see Chapter 4). The questionnaire was filled anonymously and individually by each participant and upon its return it was assigned with a code to keep record of the subject/group identity for later analysis.

QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLE

Below, please circle the number that indicates how much you agree with the following statements.					
Q1	**I feel connected to the cultural heritage and to the history of the place.**				
	1 Strongly disagree	2 Somewhat disagree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat agree	5 Strongly agree
Q2	**I feel personally responsible for the protection of Kastoria's heritage.**				
	1 Strongly disagree	2 Somewhat disagree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat agree	5 Strongly agree
Q3	**I trust the local authorities with the planning and management of heritage tourism.**				
	1 Strongly disagree	2 Somewhat disagree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat agree	5 Strongly agree
Q4	**I believe that heritage tourism development needs to take place regionally and with inter-municipal collaboration.**				
	1 Strongly disagree	2 Somewhat disagree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat agree	5 Strongly agree
Q5	**I believe that part of council taxes can be allocated to the conservation and maintenance of local heritage.**				
	1 Strongly disagree	2 Somewhat disagree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat agree	5 Strongly agree
Q6	**I would allocate part of my personal income to the protection and promotion of local heritage.**				
	1 Strongly disagree	2 Somewhat disagree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat agree	5 Strongly agree
Q7	**I trust my fellow citizens and I feel and collaborate with them for delivering common benefits.**				
	1 Strongly disagree	2 Somewhat disagree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat agree	5 Strongly agree

To what degree do you believe that the following should participate in the planning and development of local heritage tourism? *(Please circle the relevant number)*					
Q8	**The relevant central state institutions (e.g. Ministries of Culture and Tourism)**				
	1 Not at all	2 Slightly	3 Moderately	4 Very	5 Extremely
Q9	**The regional government of Western Macedonia**				
	1 Not at all	2 Slightly	3 Moderately	4 Very	5 Extremely
Q10	**The municipal governments of Kastoria**				
	1 Not at all	2 Slightly	3 Moderately	4 Very	5 Extremely
Q11	**The Ephorate of Antiquities of Kastoria**				
	1 Not at all	2 Slightly	3 Moderately	4 Very	5 Extremely
Q12	**Tourism/heritage consultants that are not directly related to the region**				
	1 Not at all	2 Slightly	3 Moderately	4 Very	5 Extremely
Q13	**Academics and researchers that study Kastoria**				
	1 Not at all	2 Slightly	3 Moderately	4 Very	5 Extremely
Q14	**Local tourism professionals (e.g. hoteliers, tour guides)**				
	1 Not at all	2 Slightly	3 Moderately	4 Very	5 Extremely
Q15	**Travel intermediaries located outside Kastoria (e.g. Athens, Thessaloniki)**				
	1 Not at all	2 Slightly	3 Moderately	4 Very	5 Extremely
Q16	**Community-based cultural and environmental associations**				
	1 Not at all	2 Slightly	3 Moderately	4 Very	5 Extremely
Q17	**Local residents**				
	1 Not at all	2 Slightly	3 Moderately	4 Very	5 Extremely
	Others *(please specify)*				
I will be willing to take on an active role in local heritage tourism planning if...					
Q18	**It offers me with monetary gains.**				
	1 Strongly disagree	2 Somewhat disagree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat agree	5 Strongly agree
Q19	**If relevant information-training (e.g. seminars) is provided.**				
	1 Strongly disagree	2 Somewhat disagree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat agree	5 Strongly agree
Q20	**If it contributes to my professional prospects.**				
	1 Strongly disagree	2 Somewhat disagree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat agree	5 Strongly agree

Q21	**If there is collaborative atmosphere and true dialogue.**				
	1 Strongly disagree	2 Somewhat disagree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat agree	5 Strongly agree
Q22	**If it is not too time-demanding.**				
	1 Strongly disagree	2 Somewhat disagree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat agree	5 Strongly agree
Q23	**If heritage tourism is an agenda priority.**				
	1 Strongly disagree	2 Somewhat disagree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Somewhat agree	5 Strongly agree
	Other *(please specify)*				
Q24	**What is your gender?**				
	Male Female				
Q25	**What is your age?**				
	18-24 45-54 25-34 55-64 35-44 65-74				
Q26	**What is your education level?**				
	Jr High-school graduate ____ High-school graduate ____ University graduate ____ University post-graduate ____ Other (please specify) ____				
Q27	**What is your occupation?**				
Q28	**Are you employed by the local Ephorate of Antiquities?**				
	YES NO				
Q29	**Do you participate in local governance (regional/municipal)?**				
	YES NO				
Q30	**Are you a member of a local community association?**				
	YES NO				
Q31	**In which area/municipality of Kastoria do you live?**				
Q32	**In which area/municipality of Kastoria do you work?**				
	Thank you very much for your time! Please return the questionnaire to the researcher.				

APPENDIX E

Questionnaire survey sample analysis

The following lines provide a detailed overview of the demographic profile of our attitudinal survey respondents. In particular, information is provided with regards to participants' gender and age distribution, their educational background, their mode and type of employment (i.e. heritage or tourism-related), as well as, their family income and status. Furthermore, data are reported with respect to participants' place of origin and permanent residence, their place and type of residence, their length of stay at Kastoria and their involvement in communal activities during the time of the study, through association membership or other formal or informal structures.

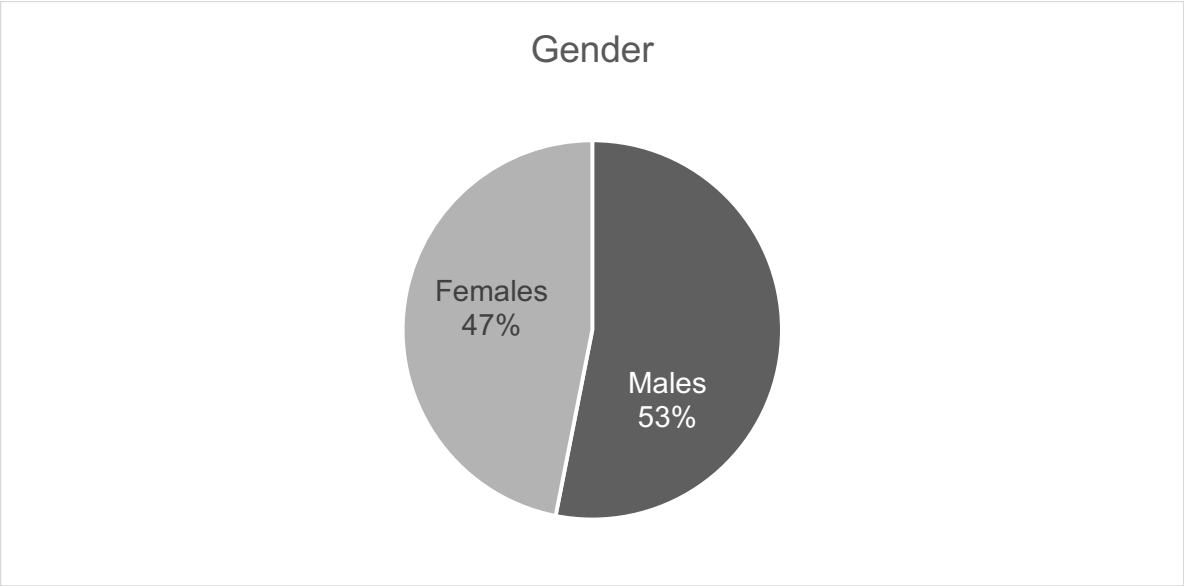

Figure E1 Full sample distribution of gender across respondents.

First, gender-wise our sample is relatively balanced with males being slightly more than females. More specifically, as shown on Figure E1, from the 665 respondents of our survey, 53.1% were men and 46.9% were women. The age of respondents ranged mostly from 25-34 (30.7%) to 35-44 (27.1%) (see Figure E2, page 283). Representation from the remaining age groups (i.e. 18-24; 45-54; 55-64) was relatively good (i.e. between 11-18%), except for participants aging more than 65 which was little below 1%. The latter is not considered as

problematic due to our study context, where it is reasonable to suggest that the elderly are less likely to be involved in participatory action (e.g. due to health issues).

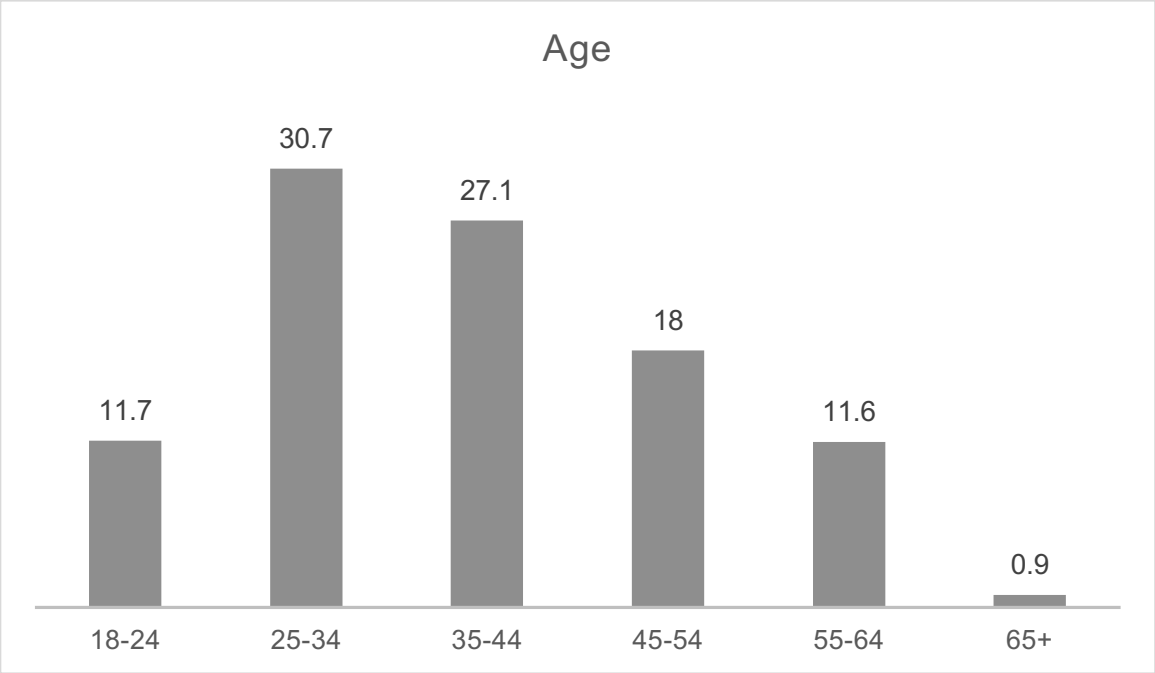

Figure E2 Full sample distribution of age across respondents.

In terms of education, the general level of the sample was quite high with only a small minority (9%) of respondents who had not completed secondary school education. In fact, more than half of our sample had received university education, with 41.7% holding a graduate and 14.1% a post-graduate degree, as shown by Figure E3 (page 284). However, only 17% of survey participants had studied a subject relevant to heritage and/or tourism (see Figure E4, page 284).

As far as employment is concerned, about half of the sample (51.9%) had a full-time job (see Figure E5, page 285). This is not surprising considering that the economic crisis has increased unemployment and flexible working in the area significantly. Indeed, unemployed represent the second largest group of our sample (18%), followed by those with part-time employment status (12%).

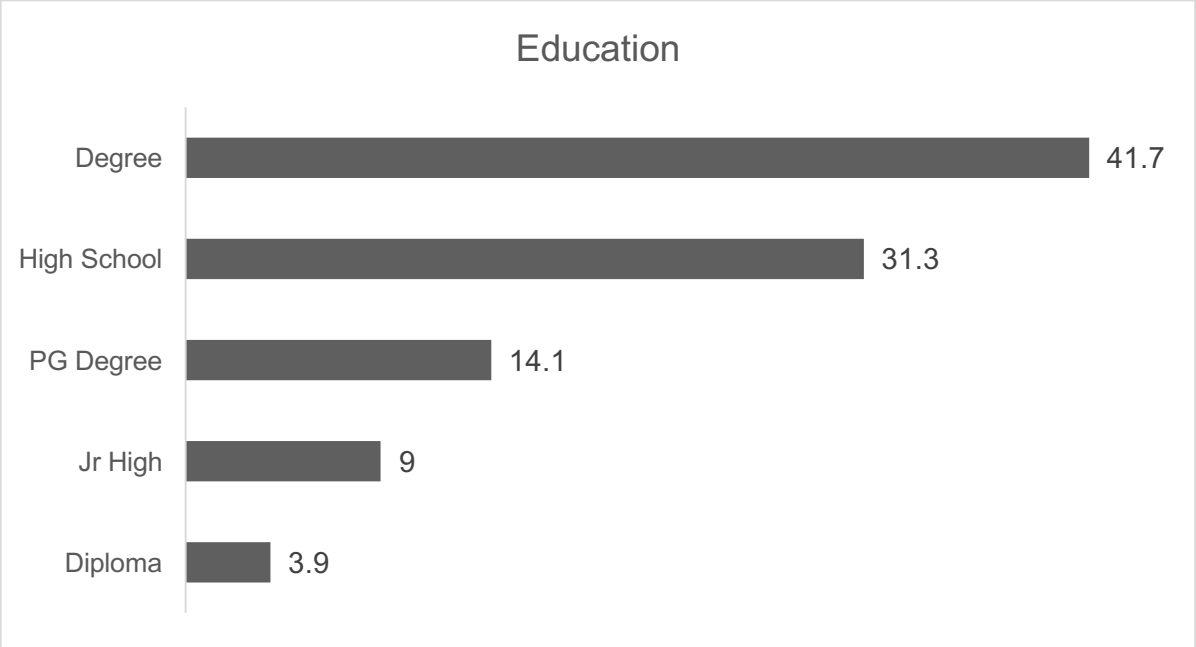

Figure E3 Educational level of survey respondents (%).

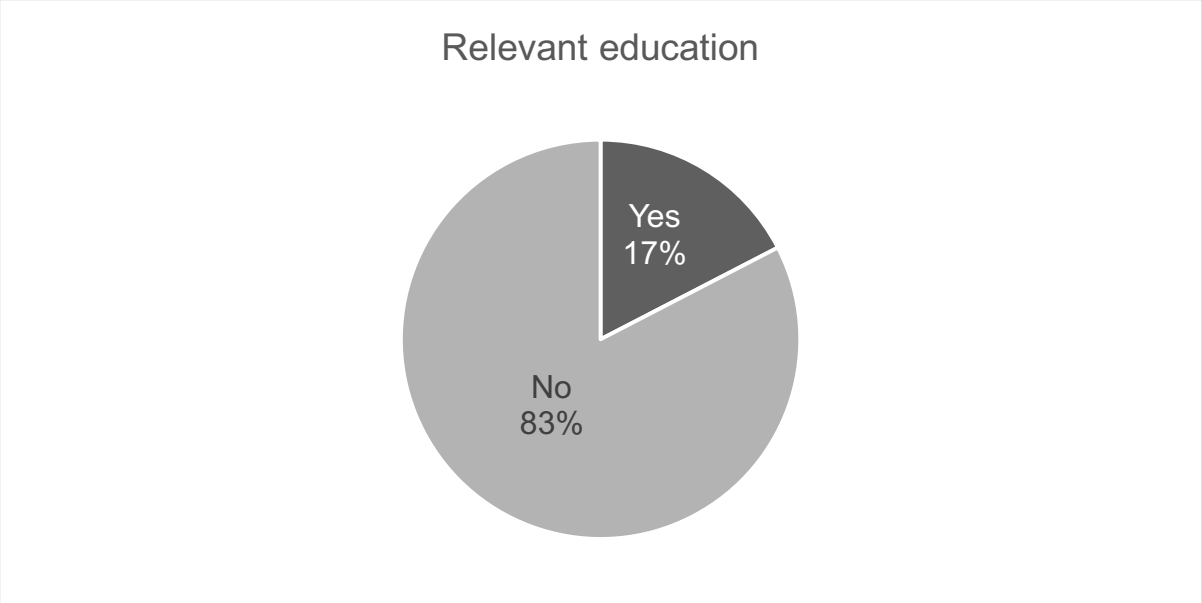

Figure E4 Educational background of survey respondents.

Furthermore, the percentage of those whose profession relates to either heritage or tourism are quite considerable, at 23.8% and 21.4%, respectively (Figure E6, page 285). Although we need to treat this information with caution (the terms 'heritage' and 'tourism' are open to interpretation, thus, professional relevancy can be defined rather loosely), the difference between the percentage of people with relevant education (17%) and the percentage of

people with relevant occupations is substantial and might suggest a lack of specialisation across the heritage tourism field.

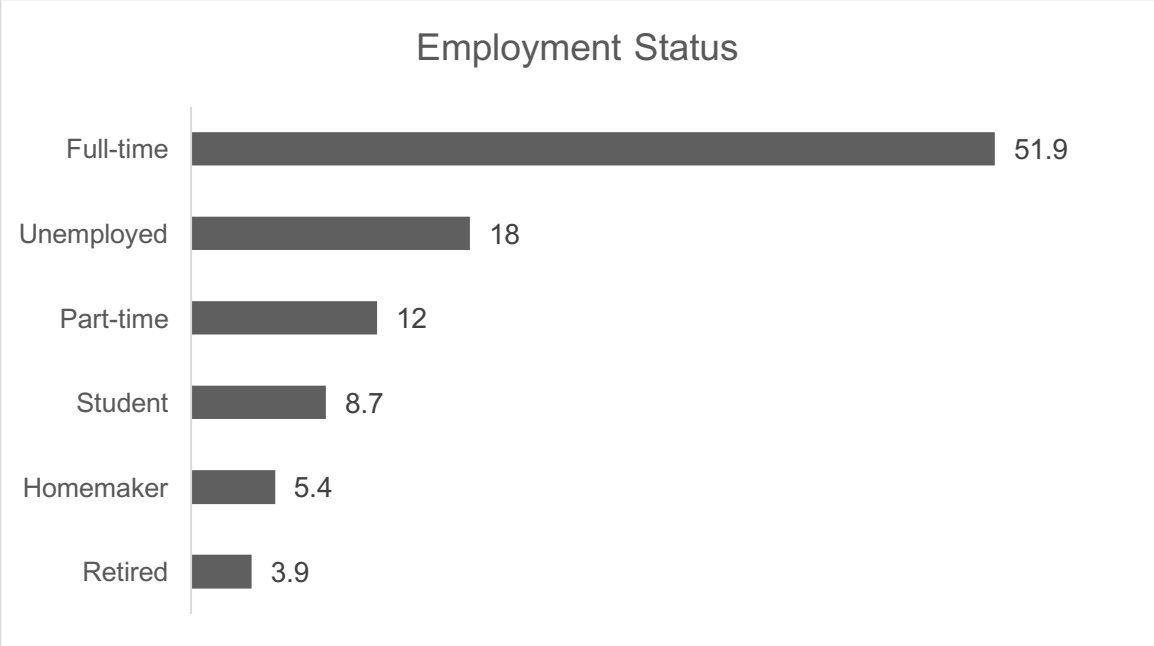

Figure E5 Employment status of respondents (%).

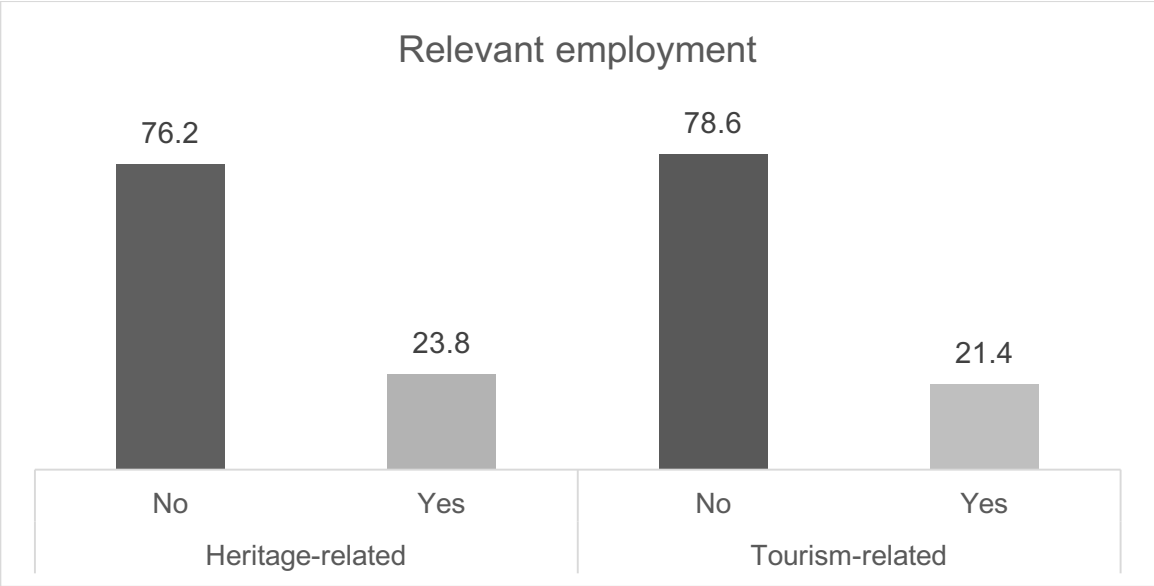

Figure E6 Percentage of respondents with heritage and/or tourism related professional activity.

Information regarding household status were also collected, focusing on annual household income and the custody of underage children. As it is graphically depicted on Figure E7, the

vast majority of our survey participants (in total 81.9%) earned incomes lower than 20,000 euros. It is notable that the percentage of those earning less than 5,000 euros was about 20% whereas the difference between the second (< 10,000 euros) and third (< 20,000) income levels is minor (0.9%). The fact that only a small percentage of respondents declared incomes higher than 20,000 (8.4%) or 30,000 (9.8%) euros, could reflect the declined economic activity of the area.

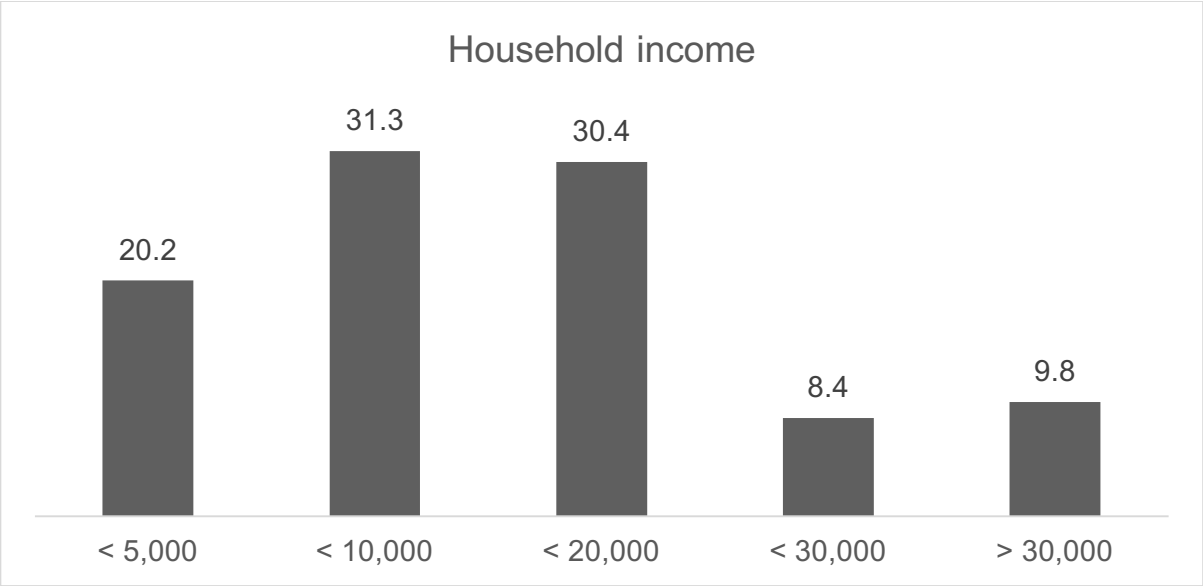

Figure E7 Respondents' distribution (%) based on their annual household income (in EUR).

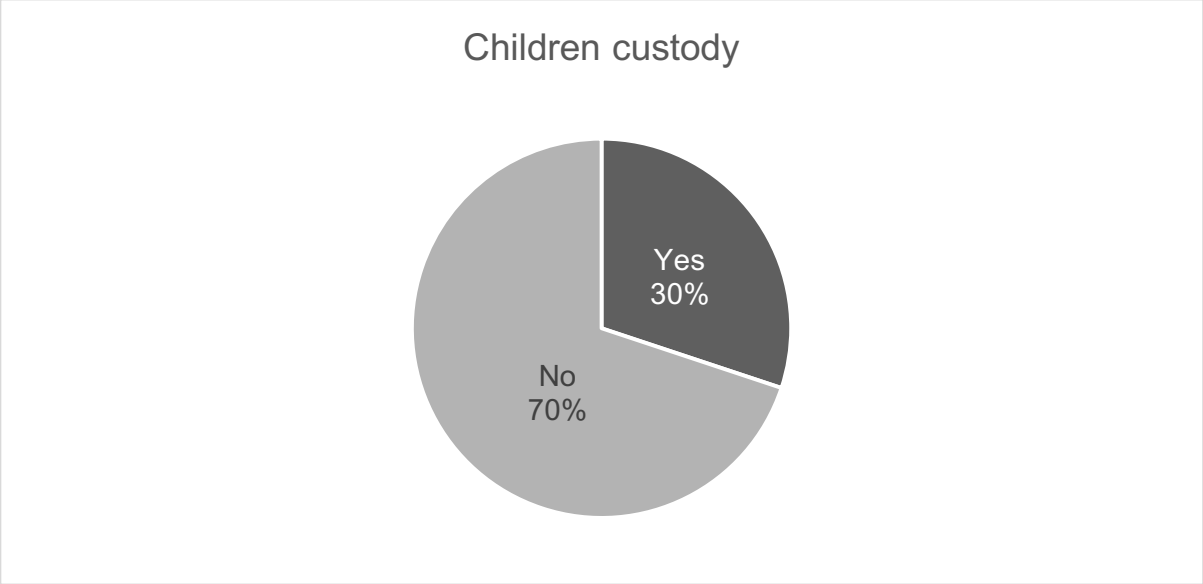

Figure E8 Percentage of respondents with underage children.

The percentage of parents with underage children within our sample was 30%. Taking into account that our sample age representation ranging between 25 and 44 years is quite high, such proportion appears relatively low, potentially exposing a risk for further deterioration of ageing effects in the future.

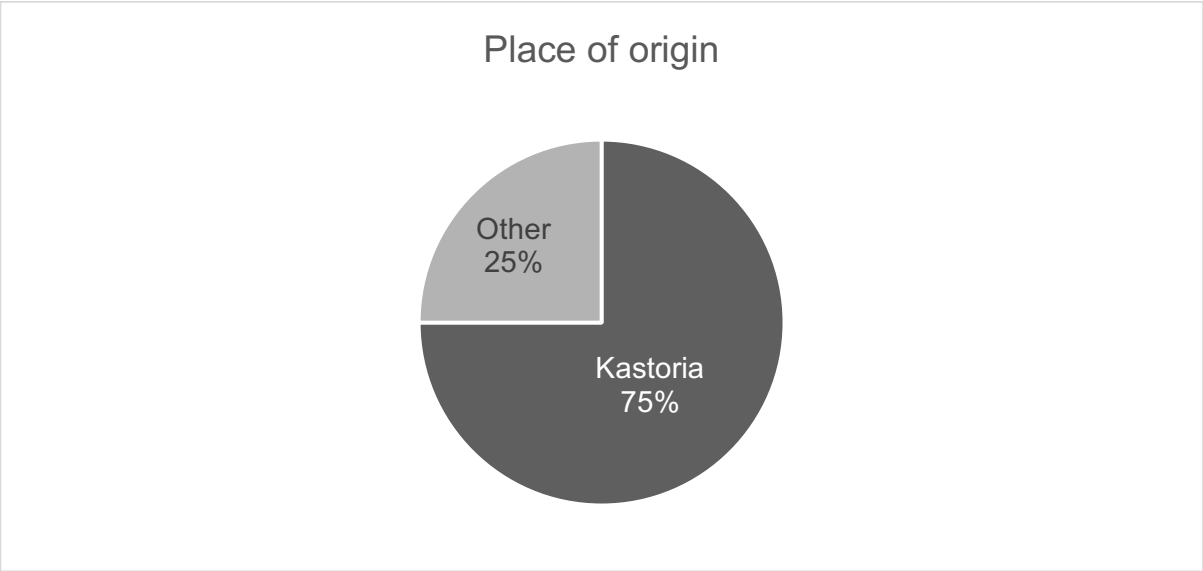

Figure E9 Percentage of respondents that were/were not born in Kastoria.

In terms of place of origin, as Figure E9 illustrates, only one quarter of our respondents were not natives to Kastoria whereas all remaining participants (75%) were born someplace within the area. As figure E10 (page 288) further reports, little less than a quarter (24%) were living in Kastoria on a temporary basis during the time of the study (e.g. for visiting family and friends) and all other respondents (76%) were permanent residents of the region.

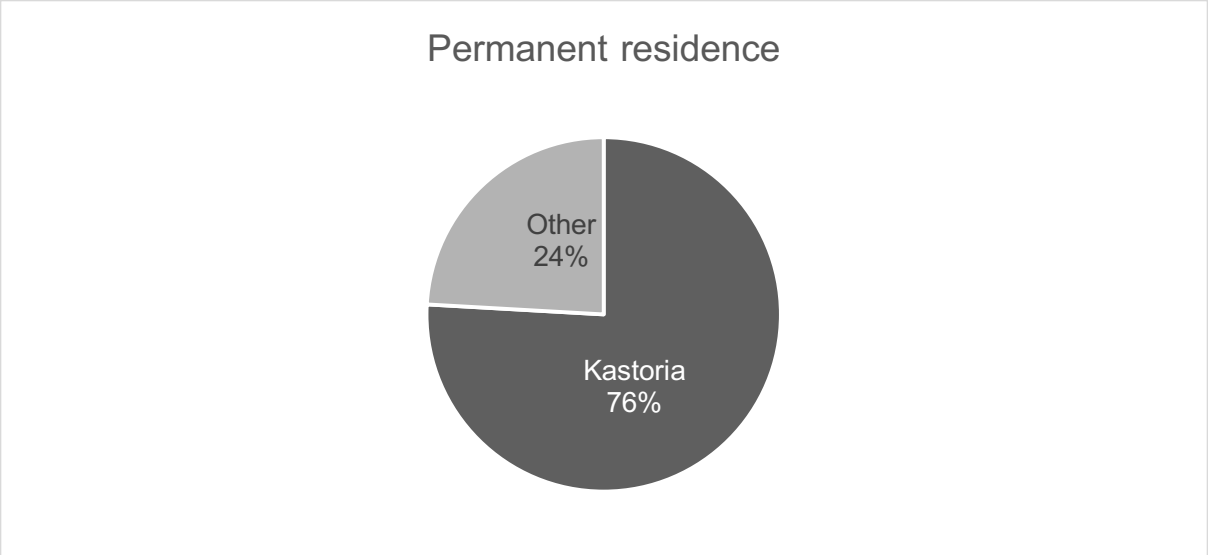

Figure E10 Distribution of respondents based on their permanent place of residence.

When asked about their specific place of residence or work within Kastoria, about half of the sample respondents stated an area within Kastoria Town, 32.3% of whom were living within its historic districts, such as Dolcho and Apozari and 22.9% were residing in the modern part of the town (Figure E11, page 289). At the same time, a considerable percentage of participants (31.3%) were located at nearby locations, such as Argos Orestiko Town and lakeside villages, such Mavrochori.

Surprisingly, respondents that resided in traditional or listed houses represented only a minor 9% of our sample, with most living in modern residencies (see Figure E12, page 290). Moreover, the majority (63.9%) of our respondents had lived in Kastoria for more than 20 years, whereas another 18.3% had resided in the area from 10 to 20 years (figure E13, page 290). Respondents with little experience with the place, as revealed by their length of stay being lower than a year, were below 7% of the sample.

Finally, in terms of current involvement, Figure E14 (page 291) demonstrates that approximately a quarter of our sample (25.6%) were members to local cultural associations, 42.1% considered themselves contributing to heritage promotion formally or informally and 14.4% participated in other common causes not related to heritage (e.g. participating to local government or volunteering to social action.

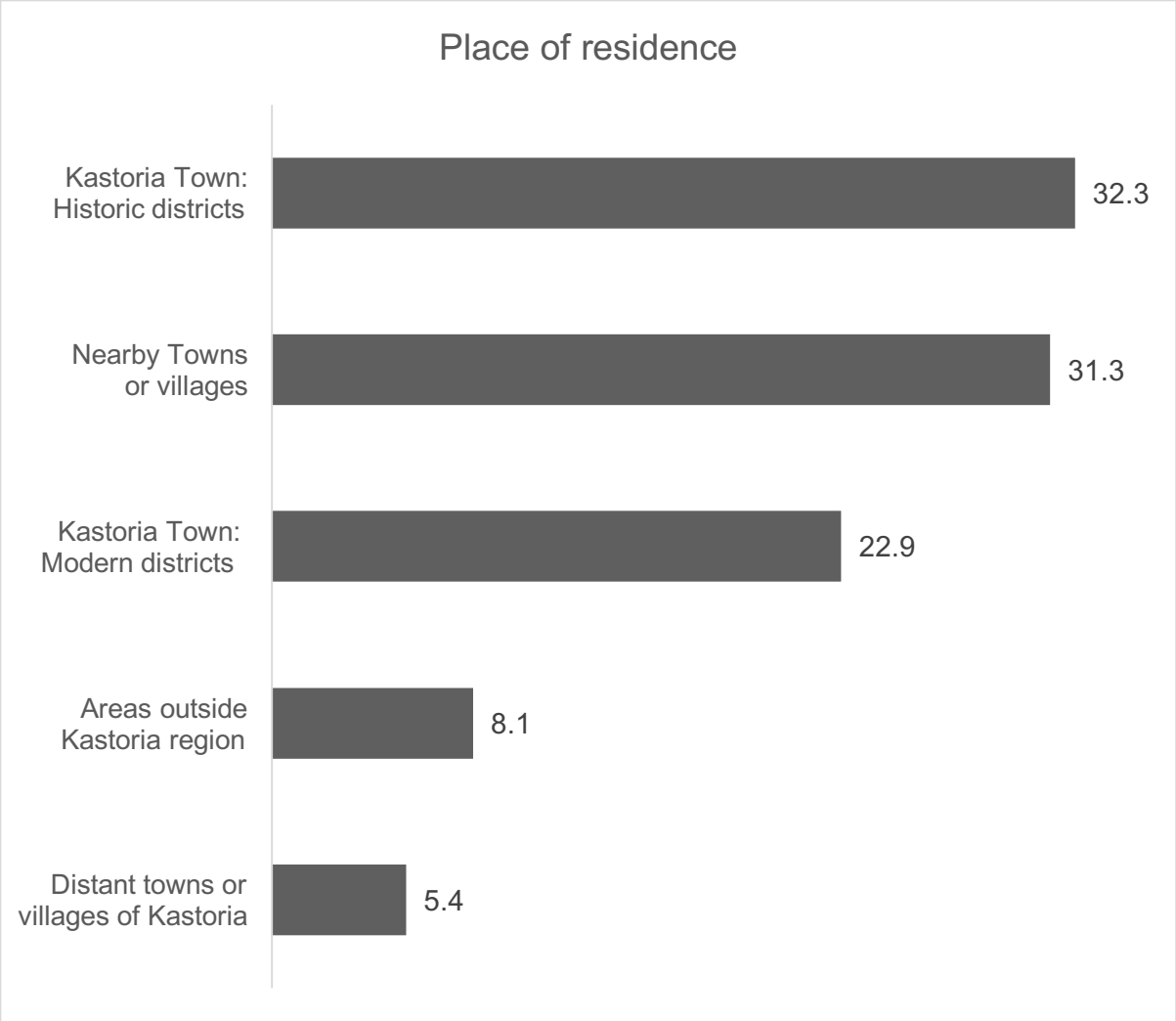

Figure E11 Distribution of respondents based on place of residence (%).

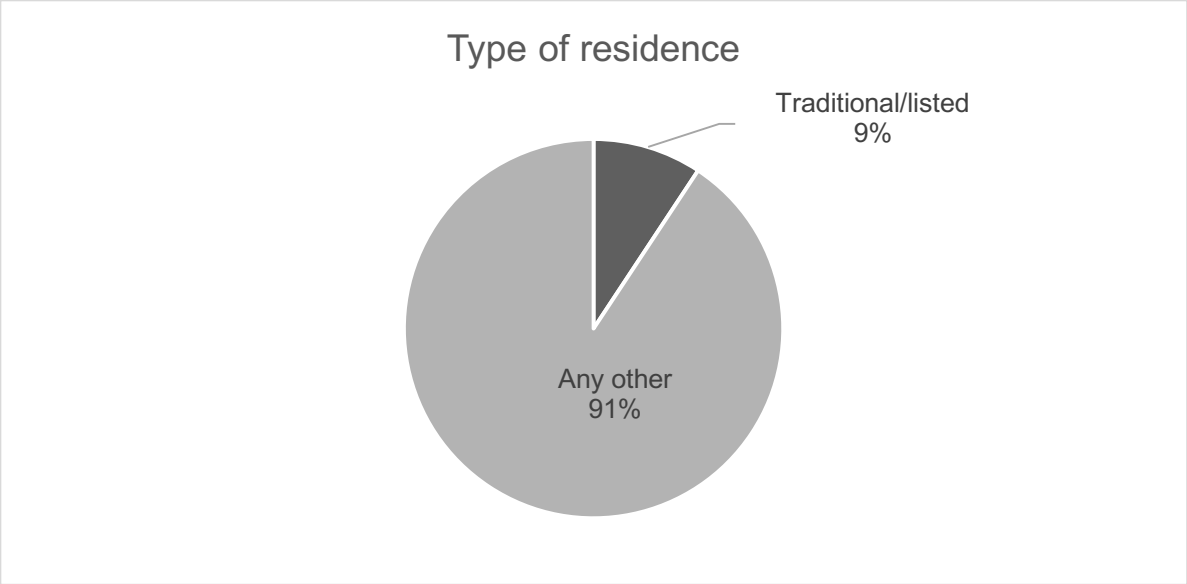

Figure E12 Distribution of respondents based on their type of residence.

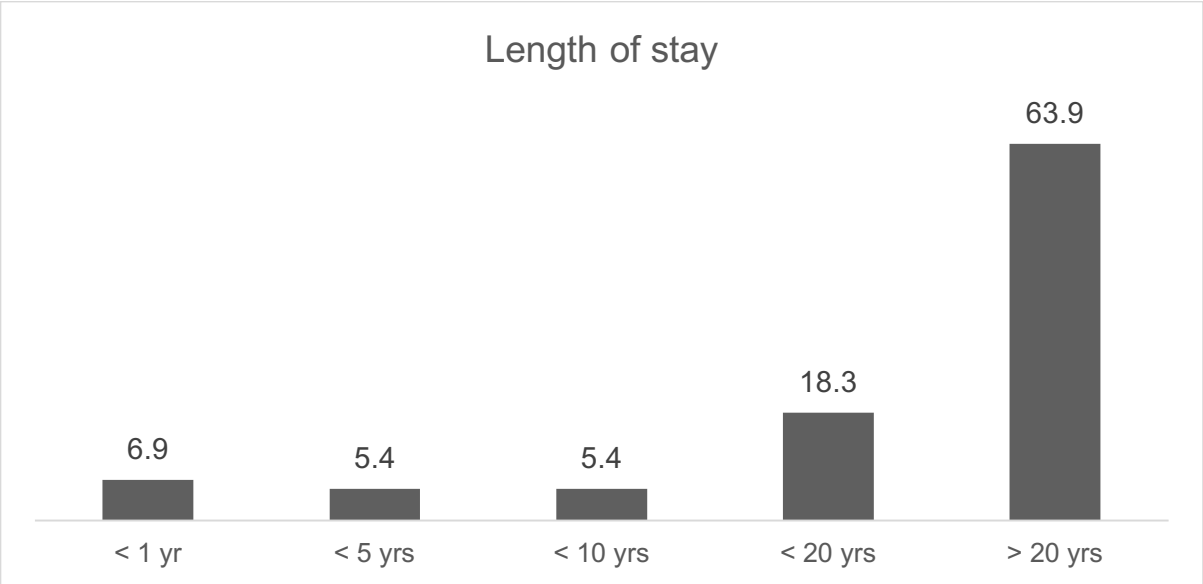

Figure E13 Sample distribution based on years spent at Kastoria (%).

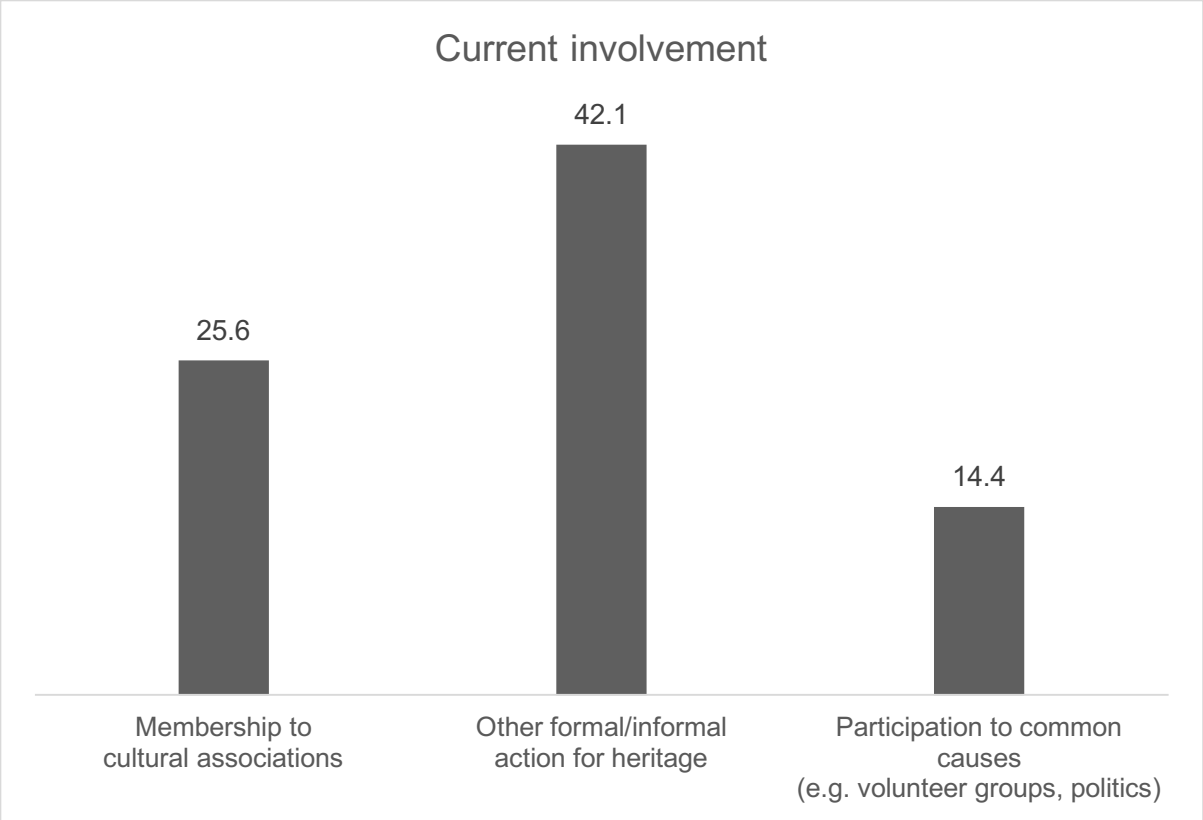

Figure E14 Percentage of current formal or informal involvement in collaborative action.

APPENDIX F

Deconstructing the drivers to participation: Non-parametric tests results

In relation to Section 7.7, this appendix reports the test results (median ranks) for each demographic subsample that demonstrate which group rated factor statements higher and lower. For nominal variables, we ran the Mann-Whitney test whereas for categorical variables we employed the Kruskal-Wallis test. Z and chi-square statistics values along with their significance are reported in the main text (see Tables 7.4-7.8).

Gender (C1)
Clusters: 0: males; 1: females

Table F1. Responses to HER2 statement items across sub-samples (gender).

Ranks				
	C1	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A11	0	353	327.02	115439.00
	1	312	339.76	106006.00
	Total	665		
A12	0	353	345.33	121902.00
	1	312	319.05	99543.00
	Total	665		
A13	0	353	333.15	117602.00
	1	312	332.83	103843.00
	Total	665		
A14	0	353	338.30	119421.00
	1	312	327.00	102024.00
	Total	665		
A15	0	353	340.17	120081.00
	1	312	324.88	101364.00
	Total	665		

Table F2. Responses to HER3 statement items across sub-samples (gender).

Ranks

	C1	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A10	0	353	336.99	118958.00
	1	312	328.48	102487.00
	Total	665		
A23	0	353	323.13	114064.00
	1	312	344.17	107381.00
	Total	665		
A24	0	353	328.77	116056.00
	1	312	337.79	105389.00
	Total	665		
A25	0	353	332.54	117388.00
	1	312	333.52	104057.00
	Total	665		

Table F3. Responses to COM1 statement items across sub-samples (gender).

Ranks

	C1	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A28	0	353	322.65	113897.00
	1	312	344.71	107548.00
	Total	665		
B13	0	353	320.24	113046.00
	1	312	347.43	108399.00
	Total	665		
B18	0	353	332.01	117198.00
	1	312	334.13	104247.00
	Total	665		
B19	0	353	332.25	117284.00
	1	312	333.85	104161.00
	Total	665		
B20	0	353	340.83	120313.00
	1	312	324.14	101132.00
	Total	665		
B22	0	353	323.33	114135.00
	1	312	343.94	107310.00

Table F4. Responses to COM2 statement items across sub-samples (gender).

Ranks

	C1	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A27a	0	353	316.93	111876.00
	1	312	351.18	109569.00
	Total	665		
B14	0	353	330.91	116810.00
	1	312	335.37	104635.00
	Total	665		
B16	0	353	325.01	114729.00
	1	312	342.04	106716.00
	Total	665		
B17	0	353	331.44	116998.00
	1	312	334.77	104447.00
	Total	665		

Table F5. Responses to COM3 statement items across sub-samples (gender).

Ranks

	C1	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
B21a	0	353	315.95	111531.00
	1	312	352.29	109914.00
	Total	665		
B23a	0	353	333.62	117768.00
	1	312	332.30	103677.00
	Total	665		

General education (C4)

Clusters: 1: Jr high diploma or lower; 2: High school diploma; 3: Technical Diploma; 4: Graduate degree; 5: Post-Graduate degree

Table F6. Responses to HER2 statement items across sub-sample (general education).

Ranks			
	C4	N	Mean Rank
A11	1	60	344.05
	2	208	371.27
	3	26	411.54
	4	277	319.94
	5	94	258.02
	Total	665	
A12	1	60	374.17
	2	208	357.14
	3	26	331.77
	4	277	322.36
	5	94	284.99
	Total	665	
A13	1	60	378.92
	2	208	314.38
	3	26	359.15
	4	277	327.78
	5	94	353.03
	Total	665	
A14	1	60	382.30
	2	208	346.15
	3	26	372.85
	4	277	322.15
	5	94	293.38
	Total	665	
A15	1	60	353.85
	2	208	324.45
	3	26	382.00
	4	277	331.21
	5	94	330.35
	Total	665	

Table F7. Responses to HER3 statement items across sub-samples (general education).

Ranks			
	C4	N	Mean Rank
A10	1	60	372.53
	2	208	352.04
	3	26	313.58
	4	277	308.20
	5	94	344.09
	Total	665	
A23	1	60	308.48
	2	208	339.99
	3	26	292.15
	4	277	327.30
	5	94	361.27
	Total	665	
A24	1	60	276.85
	2	208	336.00
	3	26	381.38
	4	277	322.60
	5	94	379.49
	Total	665	
A25	1	60	354.40
	2	208	345.52
	3	26	380.12
	4	277	300.56
	5	94	374.19
	Total	665	

Table F8. Responses to COM1 statement items across sub-samples (general education).

Ranks			
	C4	N	Mean Rank
B13	1	60	392.23
	2	208	347.32
	3	26	330.77
	4	277	313.25
	5	94	322.33
	Total	665	
B18	1	60	356.77
	2	208	350.88
	3	26	382.15
	4	277	320.98
	5	94	300.09
	Total	665	
B19	1	60	355.07
	2	208	346.04
	3	26	362.92
	4	277	323.11
	5	94	310.93
	Total	665	

B20	1	60	361.58
	2	208	342.58
	3	26	350.46
	4	277	318.15
	5	94	332.48
	Total	665	
B22	1	60	404.85
	2	208	363.06
	3	26	371.50
	4	277	288.13
	5	94	342.20
	Total	665	
A28	1	60	344.52
	2	208	326.22
	3	26	384.81
	4	277	312.78
	5	94	385.91
	Total	665	

Table F9. Responses to COM2 statement items across sub-samples (general education).

Ranks			
	C4	N	Mean Rank
A27a	1	60	304.82
	2	208	316.26
	3	26	360.27
	4	277	339.90
	5	94	360.16
	Total	665	
B14	1	60	322.73
	2	208	341.30
	3	26	392.00
	4	277	320.43
	5	94	341.93
	Total	665	
B16	1	60	321.68
	2	208	372.96
	3	26	263.19
	4	277	318.82
	5	94	312.90
	Total	665	
B17	1	60	322.18
	2	208	358.48
	3	26	359.88
	4	277	313.19
	5	94	334.48
	Total	665	

Table F10. Responses to COM3 statement items across sub-samples (general education).

Ranks

	C4	N	Mean Rank
B21a	1	60	302.82
	2	208	313.31
	3	26	335.58
	4	277	359.89
	5	94	315.88
	Total	665	
B23a	1	60	290.32
	2	208	303.48
	3	26	332.73
	4	277	346.32
	5	94	386.37
	Total	665	

Relevant education (C5)

Clusters: 0: No; 1: Yes

Table F11. Responses to HER2 statement items across sub-samples (relevant education).

Ranks

	C5	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A11	0	549	342.60	188087.00
	1	116	287.57	33358.00
	Total	665		
A12	0	549	337.04	185033.00
	1	116	313.90	36412.00
	Total	665		
A13	0	549	318.16	174672.00
	1	116	403.22	46773.00
	Total	665		
A14	0	549	343.17	188399.00
	1	116	284.88	33046.00
	Total	665		
A15	0	549	342.66	188120.00
	1	116	287.28	33325.00
	Total	665		

Table F12. Responses to HER3 statement items across sub-samples (relevant education).

Ranks

	C5	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A10	0	549	331.91	182221.00
	1	116	338.14	39224.00
	Total	665		
A23	0	549	332.96	182793.00
	1	116	333.21	38652.00
	Total	665		
A24	0	549	323.25	177465.00
	1	116	379.14	43980.00
	Total	665		
A25	0	549	321.56	176536.00
	1	116	387.15	44909.00
	Total	665		

Table F13. Responses to COM1 statement items across sub-samples (relevant education).

Ranks

	C5	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A28	0	549	323.71	177716.00
	1	116	376.97	43729.00
	Total	665		
B13	0	549	334.18	183465.00
	1	116	327.41	37980.00
	Total	665		
B18	0	549	333.52	183105.00
	1	116	330.52	38340.00
	Total	665		
B19	0	549	335.63	184259.00
	1	116	320.57	37186.00
	Total	665		
B20	0	549	335.00	183917.00
	1	116	323.52	37528.00
	Total	665		
B22	0	549	330.76	181587.00
	1	116	343.60	39858.00
	Total	665		

Table F14. Responses to COM2 statement items across sub-samples (relevant education).

Ranks

	C5	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A27a	0	549	322.08	176823.00
	1	116	384.67	44622.00
	Total	665		
B14	0	549	331.73	182122.00
	1	116	338.99	39323.00
	Total	665		
B16	0	549	341.88	187694.00
	1	116	290.96	33751.00
	Total	665		
B17	0	549	333.12	182883.00
	1	116	332.43	38562.00
	Total	665		

Table F15. Responses to COM3 statement items across sub-samples (relevant education).

Ranks

	C5	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
B21a	0	549	329.10	180674.00
	1	116	351.47	40771.00
	Total	665		
B23a	0	549	318.50	174857.00
	1	116	401.62	46588.00
	Total	665		

Employment status (C6)

Clusters: 0: Unemployed; 1: Student; 2: Part-time employee; 3: Full-time employee; 4: Family/housework; 5: Retired

Table F16. Responses to HER2 statement items across sub-samples (employment).

Ranks

	C6	N	Mean Rank
A11	1	120	311.52
	2	58	306.93
	3	345	334.16
	4	80	332.50
	5	36	410.14
	6	26	369.62
	Total	665	
A12	1	120	305.13
	2	58	242.10
	3	345	349.61
	4	80	334.38
	5	36	405.00
	6	26	340.08
	Total	665	
A13	1	120	287.53
	2	58	219.19
	3	345	355.65
	4	80	340.71
	5	36	394.92
	6	26	386.81
	Total	665	
A14	1	120	338.70
	2	58	313.62
	3	345	333.11
	4	80	318.61
	5	36	418.75
	6	26	274.00
	Total	665	
A15	1	120	327.95
	2	58	317.07
	3	345	339.81
	4	80	315.60
	5	36	359.61
	6	26	318.12
	Total	665	

Table F17. Responses to HER3 statement items across sub-samples (employment).

Ranks

	C6	N	Mean Rank
A10	1	120	322.18
	2	58	264.07
	3	345	341.74
	4	80	318.41
	5	36	403.75
	6	26	367.69
	Total	665	
A23	1	120	330.98
	2	58	257.71
	3	345	349.50
	4	80	312.48
	5	36	355.31
	6	26	323.69
	Total	665	
A24	1	120	364.90
	2	58	240.50
	3	345	332.62
	4	80	352.95
	5	36	346.69
	6	26	316.81
	Total	665	
A25	1	120	309.19
	2	58	284.64
	3	345	348.56
	4	80	330.30
	5	36	311.53
	6	26	382.35
	Total	665	

Table F18. Responses to COM1 statement items across sub-samples (employment).

Ranks

	C6	N	Mean Rank
B13	1	120	318.45
	2	58	266.29
	3	345	340.62
	4	80	329.29
	5	36	380.86
	6	26	393.04
	Total	665	
B18	1	120	331.45
	2	58	294.33
	3	345	338.91
	4	80	314.73
	5	36	353.56
	6	26	375.73
	Total	665	
B19	1	120	315.60
	2	58	304.28
	3	345	340.87
	4	80	319.79
	5	36	351.83
	6	26	387.58
	Total	665	
B20	1	120	321.37
	2	58	307.36
	3	345	348.47
	4	80	320.49
	5	36	275.17
	6	26	357.23
	Total	665	
B22	1	120	344.83
	2	58	288.57
	3	345	332.57
	4	80	283.63
	5	36	385.53
	6	26	462.38
	Total	665	
A28	1	120	317.83
	2	58	286.69
	3	345	342.13
	4	80	326.15
	5	36	348.50
	6	26	384.81
	Total	665	

Table F19. Responses to COM2 statement items across sub-samples (employment).

Ranks

	C6	N	Mean Rank
A27a	1	120	250.98
	2	58	286.14
	3	345	362.98
	4	80	321.45
	5	36	336.69
	6	26	448.65
	Total	665	
B14	1	120	307.54
	2	58	313.43
	3	345	338.93
	4	80	343.41
	5	36	342.03
	6	26	370.96
	Total	665	
B16	1	120	304.78
	2	58	347.22
	3	345	329.67
	4	80	333.88
	5	36	386.69
	6	26	398.62
	Total	665	
B17	1	120	303.88
	2	58	272.22
	3	345	353.32
	4	80	312.20
	5	36	338.86
	6	26	389.27
	Total	665	

Table F20. Responses to COM3 statement items across sub-samples (employment).

Ranks

	C6	N	Mean Rank
B21a	1	120	290.07
	2	58	290.79
	3	345	353.12
	4	80	328.16
	5	36	312.47
	6	26	401.65
	Total	665	
B23a	1	120	300.98
	2	58	328.31
	3	345	349.51
	4	80	328.71
	5	36	239.03
	6	26	415.42
	Total	665	

Tourism Employment (C8)

Clusters: 0: No; 1: Yes

Table F21. Responses to HER2 statement items across sub-samples (tourism employment).

Ranks

	C8	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A11	0	523	330.53	172867.00
	1	142	342.10	48578.00
	Total	665		
A12	0	523	331.00	173113.00
	1	142	340.37	48332.00
	Total	665		
A13	0	523	332.30	173794.00
	1	142	335.57	47651.00
	Total	665		
A14	0	523	337.69	176613.00
	1	142	315.72	44832.00
	Total	665		
A15	0	523	341.57	178640.00
	1	142	301.44	42805.00
	Total	665		

Table F22. Responses to HER3 statement items across sub-samples (tourism employment).

Ranks

	C8	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A10	0	523	335.59	175516.00
	1	142	323.44	45929.00
	Total	665		
A23	0	523	338.67	177127.00
	1	142	312.10	44318.00
	Total	665		
A24	0	523	337.61	176568.00
	1	142	316.04	44877.00
	Total	665		
A25	0	523	328.51	171813.00
	1	142	349.52	49632.00
	Total	665		

Table F23. Responses to COM1 statement items across sub-samples (tourism employment).

Ranks

	C8	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A28	0	523	325.34	170153.00
	1	142	361.21	51292.00
	Total	665		
B13	0	523	323.70	169293.00
	1	142	367.27	52152.00
	Total	665		
B18	0	523	329.35	172251.00
	1	142	346.44	49194.00
	Total	665		
B19	0	523	328.86	171996.00
	1	142	348.23	49449.00
	Total	665		
B20	0	523	323.10	168979.00
	1	142	369.48	52466.00
	Total	665		
B22	0	523	325.66	170318.00
	1	142	360.05	51127.00
	Total	665		

Table F24. Responses to COM2 statement items across sub-samples (tourism employment).

Ranks

	C8	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A27a	0	523	325.81	170399.00
	1	142	359.48	51046.00
	Total	665		
B14	0	523	328.70	171912.00
	1	142	348.82	49533.00
	Total	665		
B16	0	523	322.04	168427.00
	1	142	373.37	53018.00
	Total	665		
B17	0	523	321.28	168028.00
	1	142	376.18	53417.00
	Total	665		

Table F25. Responses to COM3 statement items across sub-samples (tourism employment).

Ranks

	C8	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
B21a	0	523	320.23	167478.00
	1	142	380.05	53967.00
	Total	665		
B23a	0	523	320.49	167617.00
	1	142	379.07	53828.00
	Total	665		

Place of residence (C12)

Clusters: 0: Outside Kastoria; 1: Historic centre; 2: New city neighbourhoods; 3: Towns-villages close to key heritage sites; 4: Towns-villages remote to key heritage sites

Table F26. Responses to HER2 statement items across sub-samples (place of residence).

Ranks

	C12	N	Mean Rank
A11	0	54	238.72
	1	215	336.91
	2	152	357.50
	3	208	337.98
	4	36	318.83
	Total	665	
A12	0	54	314.59
	1	215	327.02
	2	152	340.53
	3	208	339.20
	4	36	328.72
	Total	665	
A13	0	54	367.22
	1	215	320.86
	2	152	343.57
	3	208	321.00
	4	36	378.89
	Total	665	
A14	0	54	280.69
	1	215	357.94
	2	152	349.48
	3	208	319.92
	4	36	268.50
	Total	665	
A15	0	54	291.83
	1	215	324.74
	2	152	359.41
	3	208	341.50
	4	36	283.50
	Total	665	

Table F27. Responses to HER3 statement items across sub-samples (place of residence).

Ranks

	C12	N	Mean Rank
A10	0	54	341.33
	1	215	345.98
	2	152	313.08
	3	208	328.46
	4	36	353.33
	Total	665	
A23	0	54	259.83
	1	215	340.67
	2	152	348.37
	3	208	336.83
	4	36	309.92
	Total	665	
A24	0	54	349.24
	1	215	361.00
	2	152	325.47
	3	208	313.01
	4	36	288.67
	Total	665	
A25	0	54	372.87
	1	215	336.89
	2	152	355.99
	3	208	284.50
	4	36	433.06
	Total	665	

Table F28. Responses to COM1 statement items across sub-samples (place of residence).

Ranks

	C12	N	Mean Rank
B13	0	54	307.15
	1	215	328.24
	2	152	344.43
	3	208	332.67
	4	36	353.89
	Total	665	
B18	0	54	341.30
	1	215	336.00
	2	152	325.01
	3	208	330.88
	4	36	348.58
	Total	665	
B19	0	54	323.04
	1	215	355.89
	2	152	312.47
	3	208	320.79
	4	36	368.44
	Total	665	
B20	0	54	328.85
	1	215	363.04
	2	152	322.53
	3	208	302.56
	4	36	379.89
	Total	665	
B22	0	54	342.28
	1	215	348.33
	2	152	297.87
	3	208	342.28
	4	36	322.22
	Total	665	
A28	0	54	364.83
	1	215	338.24
	2	152	332.97
	3	208	320.78
	4	36	324.69
	Total	665	

Table F29. Responses to COM2 statement items across sub-samples (place of residence).

Ranks			
	C12	N	Mean Rank
A27a	0	54	378.35
	1	215	357.27
	2	152	297.02
	3	208	319.81
	4	36	348.14
	Total	665	
B14	0	54	344.30
	1	215	358.62
	2	152	302.26
	3	208	328.52
	4	36	318.72
	Total	665	
B16	0	54	266.07
	1	215	372.56
	2	152	352.01
	3	208	298.47
	4	36	316.39
	Total	665	
B17	0	54	278.37
	1	215	360.07
	2	152	323.96
	3	208	314.59
	4	36	397.83
	Total	665	

Table F30. Responses to COM3 statement items across sub-samples (place of residence).

Ranks			
	C12	N	Mean Rank
B21a	0	54	309.02
	1	215	350.15
	2	152	304.97
	3	208	346.64
	4	36	306.08
	Total	665	
B23a	0	54	390.43
	1	215	325.16
	2	152	317.09
	3	208	330.77
	4	36	373.75
	Total	665	

Length of stay (C13)

Clusters: 1: <1yr; 2: <5yrs; 3: <10yrs; 4: <20yrs; 5: >20yrs

Table F31. Responses to HER2 statement items across sub-samples (length of stay).

Ranks

	C13	N	Mean Rank
A11	1	46	194.17
	2	36	312.89
	3	36	239.22
	4	122	317.86
	5	425	362.02
	Total	665	
A12	1	46	287.04
	2	36	282.58
	3	36	238.53
	4	122	318.22
	5	425	354.49
	Total	665	
A13	1	46	347.35
	2	36	304.36
	3	36	275.50
	4	122	315.64
	5	425	343.73
	Total	665	
A14	1	46	223.04
	2	36	346.47
	3	36	321.00
	4	122	289.25
	5	425	357.33
	Total	665	
A15	1	46	259.26
	2	36	311.36
	3	36	336.86
	4	122	318.01
	5	425	346.79
	Total	665	

Table F32. Responses to HER3 statement items across sub-samples (length of stay).

Ranks

	C13	N	Mean Rank
A10	1	46	328.33
	2	36	245.25
	3	36	274.31
	4	122	298.04
	5	425	355.95
	Total	665	
A23	1	46	268.15
	2	36	306.97
	3	36	228.92
	4	122	309.24
	5	425	357.86
	Total	665	
A24	1	46	376.13
	2	36	365.75
	3	36	262.19
	4	122	282.97
	5	425	345.92
	Total	665	
A25	1	46	373.61
	2	36	298.44
	3	36	223.06
	4	122	311.82
	5	425	346.92
	Total	665	

Table F33. Responses to COM1 statement items across sub-sample (length of stay).

Ranks

	C13	N	Mean Rank
B13	1	46	347.37
	2	36	251.17
	3	36	191.42
	4	122	306.93
	5	425	357.85
	Total	665	
B18	1	46	345.15
	2	36	268.53
	3	36	325.78
	4	122	318.73
	5	425	341.85
	Total	665	
B19	1	46	332.41
	2	36	284.28
	3	36	325.58
	4	122	311.87
	5	425	343.88
	Total	665	
B20	1	46	318.48
	2	36	264.31
	3	36	285.06
	4	122	322.57
	5	425	347.44
	Total	665	
B22	1	46	324.39
	2	36	348.25
	3	36	315.42
	4	122	303.99
	5	425	342.46
	Total	665	
A28	1	46	397.52
	2	36	314.44
	3	36	237.81
	4	122	301.92
	5	425	344.57
	Total	665	

Table F34. Responses to COM2 statement items across sub-samples (length of stay).

Ranks			
	C13	N	Mean Rank
A27a	1	46	396.61
	2	36	345.72
	3	36	308.92
	4	122	292.08
	5	425	338.82
	Total	665	
B14	1	46	331.48
	2	36	331.72
	3	36	259.94
	4	122	303.95
	5	425	347.80
	Total	665	
B16	1	46	251.35
	2	36	356.39
	3	36	252.56
	4	122	290.98
	5	425	358.73
	Total	665	
B17	1	46	278.39
	2	36	280.69
	3	36	258.36
	4	122	317.09
	5	425	354.23
	Total	665	

Table F35. Responses to COM3 statement items across sub-samples (length of stay).

Ranks			
	C13	N	Mean Rank
B21a	1	46	373.96
	2	36	282.58
	3	36	325.19
	4	122	307.81
	5	425	340.73
	Total	665	
B23a	1	46	436.17
	2	36	298.58
	3	36	257.67
	4	122	337.87
	5	425	329.73
	Total	665	

Association membership (C15)

Clusters: 0: No; 1: Yes

Table F36. Responses to HER2 statement items across sub-samples (association membership).

Ranks

	C15	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A11	0	495	318.98	157896.00
	1	170	373.82	63549.00
	Total	665		
A12	0	495	315.15	156000.00
	1	170	384.97	65445.00
	Total	665		
A13	0	495	306.34	151638.00
	1	170	410.63	69807.00
	Total	665		
A14	0	495	323.29	160027.00
	1	170	361.28	61418.00
	Total	665		
A15	0	495	329.39	163049.00
	1	170	343.51	58396.00
	Total	665		

Table F37. Responses to HER3 statement items across sub-samples (association membership).

Ranks

	C15	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A10	0	495	329.49	163098.00
	1	170	343.22	58347.00
	Total	665		
A23	0	495	317.91	157363.00
	1	170	376.95	64082.00
	Total	665		
A24	0	495	311.54	154214.00
	1	170	395.48	67231.00
	Total	665		
A25	0	495	328.10	162409.00
	1	170	347.27	59036.00
	Total	665		

Table F38. Responses to COM1 statement items across sub-samples (association membership).

Ranks

	C15	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A28	0	495	321.94	159358.00
	1	170	365.22	62087.00
	Total	665		
B13	0	495	318.22	157521.00
	1	170	376.02	63924.00
	Total	665		
B18	0	495	317.85	157335.00
	1	170	377.12	64110.00
	Total	665		
B19	0	495	319.61	158205.00
	1	170	372.00	63240.00
	Total	665		
B20	0	495	320.48	158637.00
	1	170	369.46	62808.00
	Total	665		
B22	0	495	324.06	160408.00
	1	170	359.04	61037.00
	Total	665		

Table F39. Responses to COM2 statement items across sub-samples (association membership).

Ranks

	C15	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A27a	0	495	327.07	161899.00
	1	170	350.27	59546.00
	Total	665		
B14	0	495	324.00	160381.00
	1	170	359.20	61064.00
	Total	665		
B16	0	495	330.71	163702.00
	1	170	339.66	57743.00
	Total	665		
B17	0	495	324.04	160400.00
	1	170	359.09	61045.00
	Total	665		

Table F40. Responses to COM3 statement items across sub-samples (association membership).

Ranks

	C15	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
B21a	0	495	326.33	161534.00
	1	170	352.42	59911.00
	Total	665		
B23a	0	495	327.00	161863.00
	1	170	350.48	59582.00
	Total	665		

Other heritage activities (C16)

Clusters: 0: No; 1: Yes

Table F41. Responses to HER2 statement items across sub-samples (heritage activities).

Ranks

	C16	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A11	0	385	334.98	128967.00
	1	280	330.28	92478.00
	Total	665		
A12	0	385	320.76	123494.00
	1	280	349.83	97951.00
	Total	665		
A13	0	385	298.35	114863.00
	1	280	380.65	106582.00
	Total	665		
A14	0	385	337.90	130091.00
	1	280	326.26	91354.00
	Total	665		
A15	0	385	347.09	133628.00
	1	280	313.63	87817.00
	Total	665		

Table F42. Responses to HER3 statement items across sub-samples (heritage activities).

Ranks

	C16	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A10	0	385	331.58	127658.00
	1	280	334.95	93787.00
	Total	665		
A23	0	385	317.33	122172.00
	1	280	354.55	99273.00
	Total	665		
A24	0	385	296.82	114277.00
	1	280	382.74	107168.00
	Total	665		
A25	0	385	319.48	122999.00
	1	280	351.59	98446.00
	Total	665		

Table F43. Responses to COM1 statement items across sub-samples (heritage activities).

Ranks

	C16	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A28	0	385	303.94	117017.00
	1	280	372.96	104428.00
	Total	665		
B13	0	385	310.35	119483.00
	1	280	364.15	101962.00
	Total	665		
B18	0	385	305.91	117777.00
	1	280	370.24	103668.00
	Total	665		
B19	0	385	312.67	120378.00
	1	280	360.95	101067.00
	Total	665		
B20	0	385	310.11	119393.00
	1	280	364.47	102052.00
	Total	665		
B22	0	385	325.83	125445.00
	1	280	342.86	96000.00
	Total	665		

Table F44. Responses to COM2 statement items across sub-samples (heritage activities).

Ranks

	C16	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A27a	0	385	311.01	119740.00
	1	280	363.23	101705.00
	Total	665		
B14	0	385	319.89	123156.00
	1	280	351.03	98289.00
	Total	665		
B16	0	385	324.21	124822.00
	1	280	345.08	96623.00
	Total	665		
B17	0	385	311.11	119776.00
	1	280	363.10	101669.00
	Total	665		

Table F45. Responses to COM3 statement items across sub-samples (heritage activities).

Ranks

	C16	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
B21a	0	385	325.74	125410.00
	1	280	342.98	96035.00
	Total	665		
B23a	0	385	322.95	124337.00
	1	280	346.81	97108.00
	Total	665		

Communal activities (C17)

Clusters: 0: No; 1: Yes

Table F46. Responses to HER2 statement items across sub-samples (communal activities).

Ranks

	C17	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A11	0	569	333.43	189720.00
	1	96	330.47	31725.00
	Total	665		
A12	0	569	328.32	186815.00
	1	96	360.73	34630.00
	Total	665		
A13	0	569	330.41	188002.00
	1	96	348.36	33443.00
	Total	665		
A14	0	569	334.68	190431.00
	1	96	323.06	31014.00
	Total	665		
A15	0	569	339.46	193155.00
	1	96	294.69	28290.00
	Total	665		

Table F47. Responses to HER3 statement items across sub-samples (communal activities).

Ranks

	C17	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A10	0	569	337.36	191956.00
	1	96	307.18	29489.00
	Total	665		
A23	0	569	328.73	187049.00
	1	96	358.29	34396.00
	Total	665		
A24	0	569	328.71	187036.00
	1	96	358.43	34409.00
	Total	665		
A25	0	569	328.10	186687.00
	1	96	362.06	34758.00
	Total	665		

Table F48. Responses to COM1 statement items across sub-samples (communal activities).

Ranks

	C17	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A28	0	569	328.88	187133.00
	1	96	357.42	34312.00
	Total	665		
B13	0	569	330.01	187777.00
	1	96	350.71	33668.00
	Total	665		
B18	0	569	329.13	187275.00
	1	96	355.94	34170.00
	Total	665		
B19	0	569	325.16	185018.00
	1	96	379.45	36427.00
	Total	665		
B20	0	569	327.84	186539.00
	1	96	363.60	34906.00
	Total	665		
B22	0	569	324.90	184868.00
	1	96	381.01	36577.00
	Total	665		

Table F49. Responses to COM2 statement items across sub-samples (communal activities).

Ranks

	C17	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
A27a	0	569	329.66	187574.00
	1	96	352.82	33871.00
	Total	665		
B14	0	569	330.63	188126.00
	1	96	347.07	33319.00
	Total	665		
B16	0	569	330.20	187882.00
	1	96	349.61	33563.00
	Total	665		
B17	0	569	329.29	187366.00
	1	96	354.99	34079.00
	Total	665		

Table F50. Responses to COM3 statement items across sub-samples (communal activities).

Ranks

	C17	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
B21a	0	569	329.53	187500.00
	1	96	353.59	33945.00
	Total	665		
B23a	0	569	325.27	185079.00
	1	96	378.81	36366.00
	Total	665		

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